

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

One Risk We Must Take For Peace

DISARMAMENT BEFORE WORLD CONFERENCE

WARS are always followed by peace conferences. The atmosphere is charged with hate, greed and lust for vengeance. The seed of future wars are sown.

Recognizing that wars logically follow from the neglect of dealing with international problems as they arise, sensible people in every country are now demanding the calling of a World Conference to avert another war, by the removal of existing causes of international friction.

Roy Walker maintains in the following article that if this conference is to achieve its object it must meet in an atmosphere of trust and good will, and he argues that disarmament by Great Britain would contribute substantially to that end.

WHEN people tell me that pacifism is too risky or too difficult I ask them what alternative there is.

I do not believe there is a practical alternative. I believe we have no option but to take risks for peace, risks which are no risks because the alternative is war; either the direct war of the bombing-plane or the indirect war of the armaments race that leads straight to national bankruptcy, and to spiritual bankruptcy as well.

Pacifists are asking for disarmament—disarmament of this country without waiting for a guarantee from others—and a world peace conference. It is necessary to emphasize that they are asking for both.

I do not believe that those who want a

conference first and disarmament after have anything at all in common with the pacifists. I believe that any conference at the present moment would fail as the Disarmament Conference failed in 1932—not through the wickedness of any individual statesman, but because it would be a battle fought by armed diplomacy, a battle in which each would seek to conserve his own interests, to get and not to give.

It is important, too, to remember that disarmament and conference are only the political expressions of certain attitudes towards humanity. I do not believe that a governing minority can impose good will on a people. I do believe that a people of good will can transmit their spirit to a

government, or rather that they can see to it that they have a government which truly represents them.

I suppose that ultimately pacifism means faith in people. Faith in people, if you like, rather than faith in persons. I do not trust Hitler very far. But I have more confidence in the common sense and even the common decency of the German people. The self-evident fact is that the German people have nothing to gain from war and they know it.

Trust or Distrust?

The question is this. Are we to base our actions on our dislike and distrust of certain foreign Governments?

In which case we shall arm (I cannot think of any sense in which the word re-arm is now applicable); we shall contract military alliances openly and avowedly directed against the totalitarian States; and, if we are wise, we shall make war on them and attempt to smash them quickly before they are grown too strong.

To hope fascists will reform at the sight of our war-preparation is ludicrous. To wait for them to attack us is a combination of an absurd misconception of military strategy and turgid sentimentalism—the pathetic self-deception of the child who makes the excuse that the other boy hit him first.

Not so Fantastic

Or are we to base our actions on the will to peace which is stronger today in the peoples of Europe than ever it has been before (as even Mr. Chamberlain has testified)? In which case we shall disarm at once. We shall not limit our arms; we shall get rid of them all as fast as possible. And we shall offer a fair deal. Perhaps by then we shall be more in the frame of mind when fair dealing becomes possible.

This is not quite so fantastic as it seems to the sincere militarist. Indeed, by comparison with the estimate of £580,000,000 and the prospect of wasting the entire proportion of revenue voted to armaments on maintaining those we have and meeting loan interest, it is the most sober of schemes.

Many believe that, having taken all that

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Peace Conference Petition

London Rally Will Hear Final Figures

THE indication in last week's *Peace News* that the figure of 500,000 signatures to the National Petition for a new Peace Conference was likely to be considerably increased is being realized. It is not at all unlikely that the final figure—to be announced at a rally in the Queen's Hall, London, tomorrow (Saturday)—will reach 1,000,000.

The Petition will be laid before the Prime Minister by a special deputation on Monday.

PROMINENT BACKERS

Organized by the National Peace Council, with the help of the Peace Pledge Union and over forty other organizations, the Petition declares that "permanent peace cannot be secured by competitive armaments, through sacrifices imposed upon small nations, or by exclusive arrangements between groups of major Powers, but only through a more fundamental and general settlement." It goes on to call for a new peace conference open to all nations and directed toward remedying the economic and political conditions likely to lead to war.

Between six and seven hundred leading men and women representing the churches, industry, the trade unions, the stage,

(Continued on page 2.)

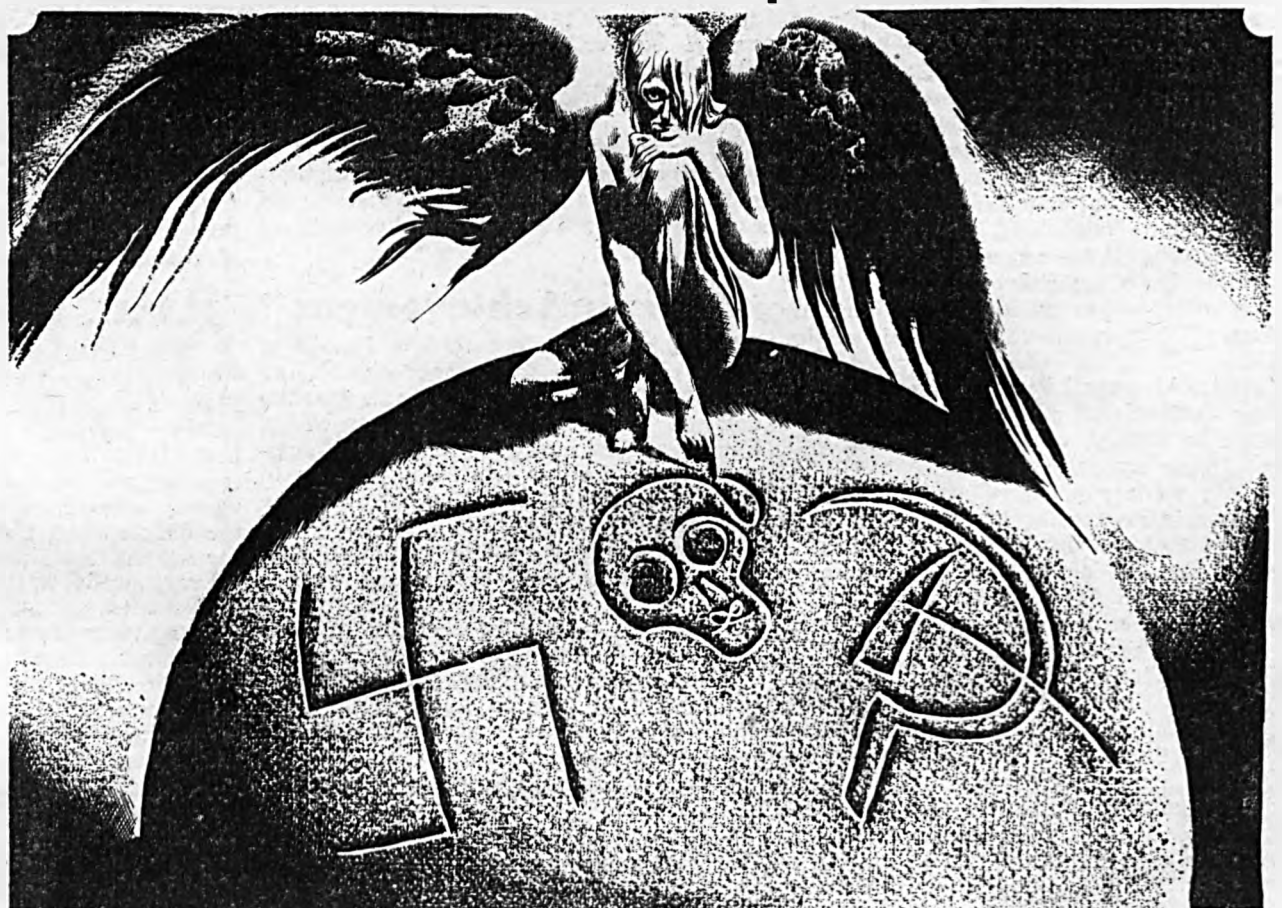
The Writing in the Sand

The fate that awaits the world if it finds no alternative to the rival ideologies of Communism and Fascism is graphically suggested in this cartoon by Arthur Wragg. Both doctrines are the products of violence and each is sowing hatred of the other.

Tsarist tyranny had prepared the ground for Communism in Russia, in the hatred and resentment it aroused among the oppressed masses. In 1917, the fabric of Russian society had been reduced to chaos by the impact of war. Military violence gave the revolutionaries their opportunity; violently, they seized it and established a new regime on a militaristic basis.

Communist violence in Italy, itself produced in large measure by the disruptive violence of war, evoked violent reaction. Fascism was born and, after a period of civil strife, came to power. In Germany, stupid inhumanity and injustice on the part of the Allies resulted in the rise of the Nazis.

Now the Fascists and Nazis on one hand, and Communists on the other, face each other in a restless world. Adherents of each creed are found in many lands, and preach doctrines which, if acted upon, will once again only produce more violence. But the choice is not between these creeds; it is between all systems based on violence, and pacifism, a repudiation of violence altogether. That choice is discussed in the article by Roy Walker on this page.



THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT

Conscription Spider and Opposition Flies

By James Hudson



MEMBERS of Parliament plunge deeper and deeper into the intricacies of armed defence. They don't intend to be led into conscription; least of all the Labour Members. They hate it. They know it will undermine civic liberty and destroy the workers' free right to organize for the protection of their standards.

Yet, in spite of their better promptings, they end up precisely where they had no desire to go. Watching them in Parliament is like looking on at a fly wrapping itself in the web of the spider.

The Labour Party announces that it stands for adequate defence. The consequence of that, it says, is the provision of a sufficient number of men and women for National Service. Of what constitutes sufficiency they have not the ghost of an idea.

Thus, out of an utterly undefinable premise, they proceed to argue that unless men voluntarily offer themselves the case for conscription is strengthened.

It looks as if we are to be allowed no opinion in future as to whether the policy for which our armed support is sought is a futile and wicked policy. It is precisely for that reason that volunteers are not forthcoming.

The statement that conscription is the only alternative when the nation declines to respond to the demands of the militarists is the argument which the conscriptionist loves to hear. At that point the fly is ready for the spider. The spider knows that nothing less than the whole body of the adult population will serve for adequate defence. He knows, indeed, that even that will not suffice. But that is not the point.

The regimentation of the country, and of youth in particular, is being hastened because the Labour and Liberal flies do not know how to avoid the webs of defence which are no defence at all.

The worst of it is that they say things in their efforts to adapt themselves to the issues of futurity which enmesh them, that makes a reasonable approach to a peace policy nearly impossible. Mr. Lees Smith, for example, proclaimed that the British Navy could prevent Germany from getting raw materials—while we could draw from the whole world. Could Hitler improve on that as a piece of propaganda in favour of more and more arms for Germany?

Force for France

We are now to have, the War Office announces, what we formerly called an Expeditionary Force. We have a nicer word for it now. It is the British Field Force; and consists of nineteen Territorial and Regular Divisions.

This, said a Liberal newspaper, was a formidable force which should greatly encourage our French Allies. Indeed it will! But whether it is altogether wise to encourage France while she shakes her fist at Italy about Djibuti and Tunis does not seem to have been considered.

How on earth has it happened, one may ask, that Liberal and Labour Parliamentarians and journalists, should out-Hore Belisha himself when it comes to providing a great force for France? Such a force inevitably means conscription. But no matter! Sir Archibald Sinclair is all for it.

And as for the Labour military experts, they declare that we must build our air bases in France, and then see that they get proper armed protection.

Thus we are prepared to have an air defence in France for the civilian population of Britain. After that we must conscript the British civilian population in order to send them to France to defend their means of defence.

Mr. Lees Smith insisted that it was the duty of Britain in the military conversations with France to press for the defence of Scandinavia, Belgium, Holland, and all North-West Europe. So far, he has refrained from asking for a British force for Timbuctoo or the South Pole. But there is no saying in what other knots out earnest Labour militarists will tie themselves.

There's no end to these permutations and combinations in lunacy. One pacifist MP came out of the House last Tuesday night and said it made his hair stand on end to hear some of his Labour colleagues spouting sweet nothings about military mysteries in quite the approved official jargon.

One wishes they would stop and consider what all this jargon is about. Mr. Belisha tried to be frank with them. Conversations between us and the French have not committed us, he said, "but prudent minds should be ready for any eventuality."

About one eventuality most Parliamentarians remain utterly imprudent. In fact they never think of it. It was the fate of tens and hundreds of thousands of British lads wantonly wasted in Flanders and at Paschendaele.

The French military command had them to waste, for when once the British expeditionary force had set foot in France, it had to be kept at strength. And the British command was willing to oblige, as conscription gave them for the senseless futile carnage all the lives they thought fit to spend.

AFTER the Army, the Air Force! The Air Minister declared, with confidence, that we have an air force as formidable

as any in the world. Even Mr. Churchill was satisfied and went off to tell his constituents in Epping how well Mr. Chamberlain is doing.

Sir Kingsley's great satisfaction with the air arm's "capacity to strike back" was short-lived. He probably ignored Dr. Dalton's lugubrious calculations about German front-line strength. That case, indeed, was much better put the following morning in Germany itself where the vaunting claim went forth that just as Britain rules the seas so Germany must rule the air.

How long is this to go on? Sir Kingsley proudly struck an attitude and said we were now spending a quarter of a million a day on aircraft alone, "and that figure will rise," he said, "still further."

Sir Kingsley passed long ago into the heights of astronomical calculation. I can remember the time when the thought of 3s. a week for the child of the unemployed gave him a headache.

But he will not thank us for troubling him with such memories. The Air Estimates for 1939 exceeded £205 million pounds, about twelve times the Estimates of the year in which Lord Londonderry clung affectionately to the use of the bombing plane. It was a costly business.

From the Editor's Notebook

A Distinguished Contributor The Motto of James I Basque House

THE author of *The Pledge of Peace* is our Peace Pledge Union Sponsor-contributor this week (on page 6).

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY is an author and journalist of considerable distinction. Many have been more prolific, but few have achieved so high a proportion of outstanding works as he has in just over two decades.

But his reputation as a writer was established before his first books appeared. He began journalism in London on the staff of the *Westminster Gazette*, under the editorship of J. A. SPENDER, and during the War was a reviewer to *The Times Literary Supplement*. Then *The Evolution of an Intellectual*, in 1920, established him as a writer of books.

One of the most remarkable of MIDDLETON MURRY's books was his *Life of Jesus*. For though at that time he was avowedly opposed at any rate to Christian practices, and, I believe, did not claim to be a Christian, many Christians found his book most stimulating and a source of much inspiration.

Other milestones in the development of his thought as reflected in a series of philosophical works were *The Necessity of Communism* (1932) and *The Necessity of Pacifism* (1937).

"A True Achievement"

IT was in his preface to *The Pledge of Peace*, by the way, that MR. MURRY wrote of DICK SHEPPARD: "I know that the decision of the DEAN and CHAPTER of St. Paul's to allow him to hold a weekly communion service for Christian pacifists in the crypt was to him one of his true achievements."

As many of my readers know, although DICK SHEPPARD died before this service could be initiated, it has since been carried on by a number of Christian pacifists at 7.45 on Wednesday mornings. The REV. C. PAUL GLIDDON, who has particularly interested himself in it, tells me that for many months the number of those attending the service was very well maintained, but that it has been slipping back rather lately.

"It would be sad," he commented, "if the peace movement, owing what it does to DICK SHEPPARD, failed to fulfil what, in a

very real sense, was his last will and testament. Here is one thing, which, on the last day of his earthly life, he did attempt to do, believing that a spiritual basis for the pacifist movement would remain unbroken, and therefore we ought not lightly to see what he longed for fall away from lack of our support."

A Coincidence

IN one of the rooms at Shulbrede Priory, where LORD and LADY PONSONBY have lived since 1902, there is a wall painting of the early seventeenth century at the time when yeomen farmers lived in the small habitable remains of the destroyed priory. It depicts the arms of JAMES I with the motto he adopted in the early part of his reign:

BEATI PACIFICI

(Blessed are the Peacemakers).

LORD PONSONBY (who has sent me a sketch he made of the arms), commenting on this coincidence, says he hopes it will bind his successors (his son is a member of the PPU)—"provided that what remains of the priory is not demolished for a strategic road or an aerodrome."

His son, the future (second) BARON PONSONBY OF SHULBREDE, is the HON. MATTHEW HENRY HUBERT PONSONBY.

P.P.U. Basque House

A HALF-COLUMN in every issue of this newspaper reminds readers that the Peace Pledge Union makes itself responsible for running a house at Langham as a home for 64 Basque children. The weekly expenditure has averaged £67, but the weekly receipts have only averaged £40—the deficit being made up by drawing on the special fund, which is now exhausted.

Every group of the PPU is being asked to guarantee within the next four weeks to send £2 to headquarters before the end of September. Here is a way for individuals to help—and at the same time to acquire for themselves some really delightful artistic works.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE, the PPU treasurer and one of the lesser-known artists among the Sponsors, has kindly given a number of his own water colours for sale at a minimum price of 5s. and 7s. 6d., according to size. The whole proceeds will be

Peace Conference Petition

(Continued from page 1)

literature, the arts and sport are sponsoring the Petition.

They include 54 religious leaders of all denominations, 80 Mayors and Provosts of towns in the British Isles, 37 representative business men and trade unionists, 47 well-known actors and actresses, 57 writers, 76 professors and lecturers of British universities, 32 principals of theological and training colleges and 175 heads of boys' and girls' public and secondary schools.

DEMONSTRATION TOMORROW

At the demonstration in the Queen's Hall, tomorrow, the speakers will include the Bishop of Chelmsford, Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. H. H. Elvin, Miss Vera Brittain and Miss E. M. Tanner (the head of Roedean School).

Admission to the Queen's Hall will be free, but tickets for reserved seats can be obtained at 2s. 6d. and 1s. from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Plan to Aid Refugees

An appeal for help in alleviating the desperate plight of refugees in Czechoslovakia has been received by the French and British Governments from the International Committee for the Right of Asylum.

The Committee suggests that British and French consular authorities should gather the refugees in certain houses which would be placed under French and British diplomatic immunity, or that a neutral zone for refugees should be created under consular protection.

"Peace News" Offices,
3, Blackstock Road,
London, N.4

devoted to the Basque Fund.

STUART MORRIS says he wants to get this responsibility out of the way at once because "we shall have to make appeals for the new Dick Sheppard House and our general work as well. If we raise more for the Basque House than is necessary, we will put any balance to the fund for our own new house."

The General Meets Logic

THE suggestion that the short story, *The General Meets Logic*, which appeared in *Peace News* on February 3, would be useful reprinted (with the illustration) as a leaflet has been well received.

As this would be suitable only for giving away, however, it cannot be done without loss unless 50,000 copies are sold at 4s. per 1,000 to those who could make the free distribution.

In order that the PPU may decide whether or no to make this reprint, will anyone who could make use of the leaflet inform R. H. WARD (6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1) by postcard how many he would be prepared to take?

Back Numbers Wanted

HOW many people have early issues of *Peace News* they can spare? The New York Public Library is in need of numbers 1, 3, 4, 6, and 9, to complete its file of the paper.

I expect many people who have taken the paper from its earliest days have only their own file copies now. Unfortunately this office is in the same position.

However, if anyone does have spare copies of the issues needed, I know the Director of the New York Library will be grateful to receive them. The address is: The Director, The New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City, U.S.A.

We in this office recently had a curious reminder of those early days. It was a subscription from Canada made out on the form printed in, I believe, the very first number! And it was addressed to the then publishers, the "Peace News" Group, at my private address, which was, until just over a year ago, the publishing and editorial office.

H. S. M.

Ending War: A French View

French Socialists Demand World Conference

THE action of the leaders of the French Socialist Party in asking the French Government to call an international conference, provided that a number of conditions were first fulfilled, was approved last week by a conference of the National Council of the Party.

During the conference a pacifist proposal in favour of calling an international conference to discuss disarmament, without any conditions, received 3,140 votes out of 7,358. The split in the party thus shows no signs of lessening.

NEW DEMAND

The conference later unanimously approved a resolution calling upon the Government to take steps to facilitate the calling of an international conference.

The resolution, which will be tabled in the Chamber as soon as possible, explains that the conference would have to deal with all problems connected with the organization of peace, and that, on the basis of a progressive, simultaneous, and controlled reduction of armaments it would have to seek solutions calculated to ensure intimate and lasting cooperation between nations.

"As reciprocal confidence between the States is one of the essential elements in this cooperation," the resolution concludes, "the conference would open under the best auspices if it were preceded by the withdrawal of foreign troops from Spanish territory."

Pacifists' Colonial Plan

Premier Deladier may reiterate France's determination never to yield an inch of the country's colonial possessions; but peace groups would be willing to let certain or all of the colonies go, provided they went into international hands and the natives were not merely thrown out of the frying pan into the fire. *Le Barrage*, organ of the "Combattants de la Paix," says:

"Why not place the old German colonies under an international mandate, and other colonies, too, in order to begin a complete transformation of the colonial regime? Why not try to form in Central Europe a federation that would permit economic exchanges and protect ethnic groups? How are the questions of Vilna and Memel to be solved? And about the Ukraine—when they were making Czecho-Slovakia out of different peoples in 1919, why didn't they consider the Ukrainian people, who formed a whole?"

"But if we really are thinking of an eventual European federation, all injustices would have to be redressed. To trade off territory in such a way as to form new armed antagonistic blocs, is not constructing peace. . . . Peace is not the mere absence of open war. . . . Peace requires the correction of injustices, yes; but it requires also federation and disarmament."

Brazilian Christians Support the Jews

The Evangelical Confederation of Brazil sent the following message, officially, to President Vargas regarding the Jewish pogroms in Germany:

"At the Evangelical Conference of Brazil, we, in order to show our sorrow over the violence and inhumanity with which the Jewish population in Germany is being treated, do respectfully state, in the name of the Evangelical Societies of Brazil, which we represent, that we will support the government of the Republic in any steps which will express a will to help those people."

Voted Against Arms: M.P. Explains Why

Addressing a meeting organized by the Attercliffe Divisional Labour Party last week, Mr. Cecil H. Wilson, MP for the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield, pointed out why he, with four other Members, voted against the £800,000,000 defence loan in the House of Commons.

"One of the reasons I voted as I did," he said, "was because I knew, as almost everyone must know, that if you are to spend large sums on armaments, then old age pensioners, unemployed, and social services are all, sooner or later, going to be much worse off than any of us desire they should be."

"We should try to create a really strong desire for some other method to achieve peace, not only for ourselves but for the whole world."

"Technically Documented and Equipped Minority" Can Prevent Conflict or Conquest

By JULES CHAVAT

JULES CHAVAT wrote in *Peace News* seven weeks ago of the urgent need for pacifists in all countries to unite their efforts and resources, in order to oppose the psychological and political results of war preparations. In the following article, written for *Peace News* and translated from French, he deals with the practical methods of opposing war.

He argues that if pacifists admit that, despite their efforts to warn and inform the world as best they can, there is danger of war at no very distant date, they are forced to search for the most appropriate line of conduct.

A CERTAIN number of pacifists seem to wait until pacifist "grace" has gained the hearts of most of the population. think that if pacifist propaganda has failed we must submit to the general drift to national "defence" by arms, but the unconquerable pacifists mean to disassociate themselves once and for all from such enterprises by refusing to participate actively in them.

But, whatever may be the moral effect of this attitude, it is not possible to delude ourselves about its practical value. For, when we consider the relative fewness, in each country, of those who are determined to take up this position of absolute refusal, we must realize that this action, though morally in keeping with our standpoint, will scarcely disturb or hinder those who wish to make war.

General Strike?

And besides, even conscientious objectors and those who refuse war work cannot help cooperating to some extent, notably in taxes which pay for armaments, and by acting as an economic unit in the country and contributing directly or indirectly to the production of war materials and even food.

At first sight the idea of an international general strike, to be put into action on the outbreak of war, seems more practical. Unhappily, this tactic, seemingly so attractive and rich in promise, proves, like many others, to be rich only in deception and disillusion when considered in the cold light of fact.

For obviously the success of this manoeuvre depends entirely on the cooperation of the workers, and this assumes that they have already repudiated nationalism and imperialism, and the methods of war which are their corollary and support. But no impartial observer can credit the workers of today with a willingness to shake off these warlike traditions.

Therefore this method of opposition to war cannot be put into practice at present, nor in the near future.

Bart De Ligt's Plan

The work of the late Bart de Ligt fills in at least some of these gaps. He elaborated a plan which could be used either to stop a war from starting, or against an invader who would at first be favoured by the lack of armed resistance. In all his books and pamphlets he has tried to show that war is impossible if a large part of the population refuses to cooperate, and also that military occupation by a foreign enemy cannot be carried through without the active collaboration of the producers of the country.

He also pointed out that these new methods need previous concerted planning by those participating, and long preparation by pacifists among the working masses, in order to switch them on to these new lines of wisdom; while the partisans of the general strike count on the spontaneous action of the workers, believing them already prepared.

But despite this important contribution of Bart de Ligt, it is apparent that he also considered the cooperation of the people as indispensable for non-violent resistance to war. And since the support of the masses for this new unwarlike form of resistance has not been won, we are again forced to

wait until pacifist "grace" has gained the hearts of most of the population.

Power of Knowledge

Too many pacifists in all countries resign themselves to this delay and prove, by announcing their impotence in case of the outbreak of war, that they have not explored those means which now exist for a tiny minority to avert war or conquest, if that minority is technically documented and equipped.

I cannot here go into details, though I am ready to furnish them to any serious pacifist organization. But I can illustrate my case from the tragic events in Spain.

The partisans of Franco themselves admit that his attempt would certainly have failed if he had not obtained arms and munitions by exchanging for them the mineral products of the part of Spain under his control from the beginning.

Therefore a few thousand determined people, previously informed and prepared, who succeeded in systematically paralysing the economic life of the country in its basic products, could have effectively and bloodlessly checked his attempt, which rested at first solely on the support of the Moors. But "they" preferred to fight the military forces with their own weapons and, once caught up in the machinery of war, they slipped naturally into the same horrors which they accused their opponents of committing.

Pacifists' Duty

The drift of mankind toward a new conflict of world-wide scope is obvious to all pacifists. It remains to be seen whether, parallel to our work of education which endeavours to stop war by warning the peoples, we can also undertake this other task of stopping mankind at the very brink of the precipice by using the technical methods at our disposal, or whether we will let things slide, only to deplore, too late, that we did not avail ourselves of our opportunities.

Home Rule for India Call Foreshadowed

A RESOLUTION declaring that the Indian Congress Party adheres firmly to the fundamental policies governing its programme during past years under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi, and is definitely of the opinion that there should be no break in these policies, was carried by 218 votes to 135 in the Subjects Committee of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri last week.

In his presidential address, delivered in open session of Congress last Friday, Mr. Subhas Bose declared that the time had arrived, thanks to Britain's European embarrassments, to raise the issue of Swaraj (home rule), and submit India's national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum with a time limit, at the expiry of which a reply should be demanded.

The time was ripe for a major assault on British imperialism. The sanctions which they possessed were mass civil disobedience or *satyagraha*. The British Government, he maintained, was not in a position to face a major conflict like the All-India Movement.

New York Pacifists Unite

A united pacifist conference held in New York last weekend was remarkable for the number of bodies which had come together to arrange it. The organizers were the United Pacifist Committee, in the work of which the following organizations take part:

American International Church, Biosophical Institute; Bronx Free Fellowship; Campaign for World Government; Fellowship of Reconciliation; New History Society; Pax (a group of Catholic conscientious objectors); Society of Friends; War Resisters' League; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Women's Peace Union.

The Saturday evening session of the conference was thrown open to the general public and devoted to a presentation of the pacifist message for today.

Lansbury "No More War" Shop Meetings

Tonight (Friday) David Spreckley is speaking at the Lansbury "No More War" Shop, 308 Mile End Road, London, E. Similar meetings have been arranged for every evening, except Sunday, until next Saturday, March 25. Speakers will include Kundan Lal Jallie, J. H. Slack, Roy Walker, Rev. Percy Ineson, Rev. Phyllis Webber and George Lansbury.

All the meetings will commence at 8 p.m. except Wednesday's (March 22) which will begin at 8.30 p.m.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"Community and Cabbages" :: Colonies and the Problem of Poverty

MAY I put in a word for Nigel Spottiswoode's cabbages?

While it is true that the psychological aspect of community is of greater moment than its economic pattern (indeed the last is simply the natural expression of the first), any attempt at full community can hardly avoid having something to do with cabbages.

Those who see a new order of society in terms of peaceful cooperation as an alternative to competitive warfare must be prepared to build up that order from small but practical beginnings. Realistic pioneering must work toward a self-supporting economic: the way to freedom lies through the "cabbage patch."

Any ultimate patterns of community will naturally include all useful arts, industries and occupations (I believe that the Palestine settlements do). But at the outset nothing will be achieved by building castles in the air: we have to dig for solid foundations—and they are in the land.

Nor is this, as a correspondent suggests, to sacrifice "progress"—it is rather to begin at last to achieve it. The price may indeed ask some surrender of personal "comfort and leisure." But is that too much to pay for peace and integrity? And what comfort and leisure does the alternative promise—for today we are all working either toward peace or toward war.

LESLIE STUBBINGS,
Honorary Secretary, Community
Service Committee.
Chancton, Dartnell Park,
West Byfleet, Surrey

The Social System

To your correspondent (*Peace News*, March 10), may we say that no one man (be he Henry George or any one else) is great enough or "good" enough to make real progress out of poverty in this age of plenty. Mr. Weller is confusing the issue. The United Christian Petition Movement has the peculiar genius of uniting people on the following six principles:

1. No man, woman or child shall suffer insecurity or poverty through no fault of their own while there are available actual or potential resources to meet their needs.
2. While any subject of the realm needs food, warmth or shelter the curtailment of supplies by restriction of production or distribution, or the destruction of goods, merely because people have not the money with which to buy these necessities of life, is indefensible and shall be prohibited. The solution is clearly to ensure that the people shall have the money with which to buy the necessities of life.
3. To hasten the growth of a true Christian Social Order in which God's plan of fellowship and cooperation between men can be made manifest.
4. To provide security, liberty and opportunity for all men and women to enrich the State by the development of their personalities and their spiritual and intellectual attributes.
5. Human life is sacred. It shall cease to be made subservient to monetary expediency or to industrial or commercial exploitation. It is necessary that these institutions shall be reformed to serve human life in its highest capacity.
6. To ensure that the above Christian facts and human needs shall receive the first consideration of our legislators.

Only from the urge of united people will true reform come. We can, and do, unite on the above six points. When enough people demand a certain change, then it is for economists to make a workable plan.

Hence the United Christian Petition Movement does not accept or support any of the many plans and schemes in the world of economics. The movement simply takes a mandate from people for a definite objective.

CLARE ANNESLEY, Coventry.
R. A. CHURCHER, Barnsley.
P. SEEDS, London.
H. M. LEEDS, Edinburgh.
GEO. WATKINS, London.
GWEN M. PHILIPS, Kensington.
M. A. CHAMBERS, Welwyn Garden City.
ELAINE BINGHAM, Ealing.
KATHARINE CLARE, London, N.2.
MAUD DENNING WESTNIP, London, N.W.6.
W. H. EWING, London, N.W.6.

Hyde Park Stand Wanted?

In *Peace News*, of March 3, there were two items that particularly impressed me.

Firstly the suggestion by Mr. Dolbey called "Plan for an Emergency." As I have no home ties I am perfectly willing to help him see that "something's done about it." The second thing that interested me is the Pacifist Service Corps which, in my opinion, supplies a long-felt need. Both of these organizations are sure to advertise the strength of pacifist feeling in this country. I am suggesting a third way in which keen

Cooperation Among Pacifists

DURING my half-dozen years of experience as an active pacifist worker, I have often observed misunderstanding and potential dissension due solely to a lack of understanding of the functions of the various organizations.

For each pacifist there is (or should exist) one particular group which expresses his standpoint as completely as possible. Almost any view expressed by any member of this group would express his own sentiments. (To take an instance, this might be the Quaker Socialist Group).

Ranging out from this central group, there are wider and wider circles of cooperation. (To continue our instance, these would be, first, all pacifists whose pacifism is based on the beliefs of Friends; then all Christian pacifists; and then all who are pacifists on any basis whatever.)

In the smaller groupings, the common basis in the realm of idea is widest, and to introverted mentalities the smaller groupings will therefore appear the most important. On the other hand, the widest ground in the realm of human personalities is

covered by the broader groupings and to extraverted people these will therefore seem of greatest importance.

Finally, there exists the widest cooperation on the slenderest common basis of all, namely, that of all people who are "in the same boat" at any given time. The issue determining this cooperation varies from time to time, and the organizations expressing it, while most urgent have only a temporary validity. At present, for example, the determining issue might be resistance to any compulsion to assist war, and the cooperation would be needed so long as there is any such threat.

It includes not only all pacifists, but certain others; besides, such as members of the ILP. For this reason I welcomed the formation of the No Conscription League as distinct from the Peace Pledge Union. The more nearly our organizations correspond to real distinctions, the more harmonious will be the working of the whole.

CAECILIA E. M. PUGH,
19 Wellesley Road, Colchester.

Pacifism in the Nursery

MY own experience in nursery schools and child guidance clinics confirms every word of the article, "How we make militarists in the Nursery."

The greatest thing we can do for peace is to establish nursery schools for all children aged two to seven, and to establish in all schools parent-teacher associations to study the true causes of the war-like spirit.

Mr. Heckstall-Smith says, "The establishment of nursery schools throughout the country would do more to change the adult population of thirty years hence than any other single possible change." (*The Root of the Matter*. Cassel.)

NANCY J. QUAYLE,
15 Edenhurst Avenue,
London, S.W.6.

Child Refugees

Peace News pointed out recently the many avenues through which groups and individual pacifists can help the refugees. But even as we rejoice when our own small, feeble efforts result in one or two children finding refuge, let us never lose sight of the larger issue, nor cease to work toward that glad day when these families will be happily re-united and know a place they can really call home.

Can any one of us, least of all a woman who has borne a child, think calmly of these bitter partings between parents and little children? Dare we think of our children in foreign homes with people, however kindly, who do not speak their language, nor understand their temperament or religion? But it is surely a part of our pledge to think of these things and to act on them quickly in the only way a pacifist can.

What are we going to do about it? A gallant experiment was made for the Spanish children? Have we enough faith, hope and love to extend it?

(Mrs.) WINIFRED CUMMINGS,
59a, Abingdon Villas,
Kensington, W.8.

Definition

There was one sentence in James Hudson's article last week that deserves rescuing from the oblivion of the back number file—"A bayonet is a weapon with a worker at each end." What better slogan to inscribe on the banner of the PPU?

May I add how glad I am to learn that Ethel Mannin's Christmas article on Spain is to be reprinted. Its sincerity, fearlessness and great literary power must have deeply impressed all who read it, and it is even more apposite today than when she wrote it. Would that a copy could be placed in the hands of every trade unionist and member of the Labour Party.

TERENCE TRAHERNE,
47 Fawnbrake Avenue, London, S.E.24.

"Peace Service" Handbook

The proposed Peace Pledge Union handbook outlining schemes and methods of "Peace Service" is nearing completion in the draft stage. Following the last meeting of London group leaders, when the handbook received unanimous and enthusiastic backing, several London leaders have sent in their views on "Peace Service" and suggestions for the handbook.

But in order to render this handbook of the widest possible assistance to all sorts and conditions of individuals, groups, and organizations throughout the country, it is important that the full experience of the Provinces is drawn upon too.

If any reader of *Peace News*, therefore, has concrete suggestions of the forms which "Peace Service" might take, which he thinks should be included in a compilation of this kind, I should be very grateful if he would send any such suggestion to PPU headquarters.

JAMES AVERY JOYCE,
3 Crown Office Row, Inner Temple, London, E.C.4.

IN your issue of February 17 Peter Coates gives us from one of his German friends, the following quotation: "Why should the English have a quarter of the world while other men starve?" This sounds a plausible enough case, but it implies that the English, by virtue of their colonial power, suffer no such privations. A completely false implication.

Wherever this argument is put forward, one should immediately point out that starvation and malnutrition are common not only in countries still struggling for colonial possessions, but also in countries which already have such possessions. In fact such evils are part of the price which must be paid for colonial power. Further, that those countries which refuse to be pre-occupied by this struggle to obtain or retain power are the countries where malnutrition and starvation are unknown as a national problem.

British efforts towards peace will always fail while the British struggle to maintain colonial domination. As there is no party who will come to the electorate with a programme renouncing colonial domination, the people must make their voices heard against this injustice which not only degrades and humiliates the natives in the colonies, but also increasingly threatens the standards of living and liberty of our peoples in the so-called ruling countries of Europe and USA.

DOUGLAS LAMB,
Brotherhood Cottage, The Chase, Ashington.

Where Stands the Labour Party?

I fail to see how a pacifist is unreal or slightly hypocritical in declaring that he, or she, cannot support a policy that is dominated by fanatical hatred of anything and everything Fascist or Nazi, neither of which do I admire or support.

True socialism and pacifism are, I believe, identical, but then no one can accuse the Labour Party of believing in true socialism, which includes among its tenets that of international brotherhood.

Judging by its recent support of governmental policy of rearmament and national service and its pressure of the Government to "stand up" to other powerful nations, Labour is prepared in "certain circumstances" to support the mass slaughter of the peoples and workers of the world. Either that or pacifism; which?

Whilst I agree that the Chamberlain party's past record of foreign policy is almost wholly responsible for the present world conditions, I have not noticed the official opposition pressing the Government to right the wrongs or correct the injustices of that age-old Tory policy.

On the contrary Labour today appears to be spending its energies in pressing the Government to defend those policies by "standing up" to those whose peoples are suffering as a result of this imperialist policy.

HAROLD J. WHEATE,
56 Blenheim Crescent, Leigh-on-Sea.

Conditions in Ceylon

To deal with the historical issues of Mr. Cardew (*Peace News*, February 24), raises—slavery was legally abolished in the British Empire in 1834 and not in 1838.

In Ceylon if this removed the shadow, the substance continued in various guises. Before tea was grown, there existed in Ceylon the coffee plantations (1825-1885). The first estates were opened up by the forced labour (*Rajakaria*) of the indigenous inhabitants.

Subsequently, the labour employed was entirely Indian. The influx of coolies from South India began in 1839 and not in 1870.

Amy Moore's description of the present conditions is, if anything, an under-statement, for cases have come to light where labourers were turned off without either the discharge certificate or the last month's pay.

A. B. PERERA,
83 Priory Road, London, N.W.6.

It is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

Modern Pacifism and the Peace Pledge Union

MAX PLOWMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

FOLLOWING are extracts from an important article by Max Plowman on "Modern Pacifism and the Peace Pledge Union," which appears in the current issue of *The Adelphi*, and is discussed by Andrew Stewart in an article on page nine of this issue of *Peace News*.

THE first half of the article traces the development of "modern pacifism" which Max Plowman sees largely as a reaction to modern, totalitarian warfare.

Realizing the nature of modern war, the modern pacifist acknowledges his own responsibility and renounces war, which involves him "in the necessity of endeavouring to create a new social harmony."

After his survey of the growth of "modern pacifism," Max Plowman turns to the Peace Pledge Union, with which that pacifism is generally associated. He proceeds to criticize its activity during the past eighteen months, "choosing that period because it was in October, 1937, that the PPU suffered something very like calamity in the death of its founder."

"So long as Canon Sheppard was alive," he continues, "pacifism in the PPU was very much alive and intent upon pursuing an increasingly creative purpose. It still is; yet there can be little doubt that the movement as a whole has suffered more than its share of the difficulties that ensue upon the loss of a great leader."

Loss of a Leader

This was "not due to the loss of a pacifist führer" for Dick Sheppard's leadership. "at once completely representative and compulsive of human affection," was "a model of democratic leadership." When Dick Sheppard died, that leadership came to an end, continues Max Plowman.

"Not because he had not shown his followers the way. His way was Marxist in its realism. . . . He knew by instinct the changing nature of the situation and the need for immediate activity on any section of the pacifist front where public opportunity was afforded. Moreover, he implanted in the minds of all who had the humility to learn from him some understanding of the kind of response which changing circumstances was likely to call forth and—more than this—he infused them with a moiety of that generosity, adventurousness and irrepressible activity which had lifted his efforts above the grey, passive and often self-righteous immobility of the time-honoured war-resister."

"Two courses were therefore open to the movement after Dick Sheppard's death. One of belief that his spirit had so infused itself into the body of the movement that it could be trusted to carry on with its own momentum, leaving the question of leadership to resolve itself through the general activity. The other, to recognize the incomparable loss which the movement had actually suffered, to harbour resources, to consolidate the responsible personnel, and to substitute for leadership some form of orthodox democratic control."

"The argument for the second of these courses proved irresistible. . . . By the measure he had been dynamic, by that measure was dynamic obviously lacking. It appeared to be a practical necessity, therefore, to put the movement into reverse out of respect for the greatness of his leadership."

P.P.U. Policy

Max Plowman goes on to declare that the PPU must face the fact that "the policy of self-defence, retrenchment and conformity which has governed the organization for over a year is the opposite policy to that pursued by its founder."

"Pacifism is essentially an active faith seeking and finding appropriate expression according to the social, political and religious activity of the society through which it works like leaven. Its policy—its whole policy is peace. How it acts in order to achieve that end is a purely tactical matter to be determined from hour to hour according to the nature of the situation as presented in the flow of current events. When pacifism ceases to be this and to act thus it balloons into pure idealism."

The public are not concerned over the individual pacifist's attitude to ARP, or the National Register, "but they are concerned to know whether pacifists realize the implications of the Munich Pact" with its aftermath in the shape of the refugees.

"The need among pacifists is that they should bestir themselves and instigate pacifist action of the type Dick Sheppard took when he offered to preach pacifism in Germany or fly over to Madrid in the pursuit of peace. For folly, in the long run, will be condoned and forgiven the pacifist; but not self-complicity, self-regard, social indeterminacy and half-hearted uncertainty of response to pacifist occasion. . . ."

"Lack of Faith"

"What we as pacifists have to accuse ourselves of during the past year is lack of faith, and with it, of course, want of vision. . . . In the multitude of counsellors there may not want wisdom of a sort, but Caution will always get the last word, and when fearfulness and the calculations of expediency are esteemed as the last word of wisdom, then it is good-bye to pacifist action. The PPU is a movement; it must retain

its power of movement or die; and die it surely will if it turns itself from a movement into an organization. . . ."

"We need to distinguish clearly between the revolutionary situation in which we stand and a condition suitable to the static methods of ordinary democratic representation. What is required for quick movement is something other than what is required for the maintenance of a status quo, and only through a leadership which accepts responsibility, retains the initiative and is continuously active in new and unforeseeable paths are pacifists going to make any considerable dent in the general mass of timid inertia. The PPU has spent some portion of the past year in the endeavour to convert itself into an incorporated company of discreet advisers and business managers. Let us forget management and, borrowing a slogan from its opponents, get a move on."

NIEMÖLLER:

The Man and His Creed

FOR one year and eight months Pastor Martin Niemöller, former submarine commander, has been a prisoner of the Nazis. His "crime" is that he will not admit the right of the party that now rules Germany to dictate to the Church. That is practically all the British public knows about him.

Most of Hitler's prisoners are men whose whole life has been devoted to some form of activity which was suppressed when the Nazis rose to power. Languishing in the concentration camps are communists, socialists, trade unionists, anti-militarists, and so on.

The fact that Niemöller shares their fate links him, in most people's minds, with them. And the press has never told them enough about the pastor to deprive them of this impression.

But the truth has now been told. A close personal friend of Niemöller reveals in a book just published (*Pastor Niemöller and His Creed*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1s.) that Niemöller is a conservative nationalist rather than a revolutionary—or even what is vaguely termed a "progressive."

Indeed, for some time, he was actually a supporter of the Nazis.

Even his children belonged to the Hitler Youth.

The ruthless suppression of all those forms of social activity which could not be "Nazified" seems not to have worried him—until the Party turned its attention to the Church.

Enemy of Republican Germany

HERE are the words of the anonymous friend who has written the book:

The national ideal was always foremost in his upbringing, and by nature he had leanings to the Right. Love of his profession as an officer was a matter of course to him, and he was in his element in the War, which demanded the pledge of his life. At the end of 1918 he felt it was morally impossible for him to continue his service, for he belonged with all his heart to the enemies of the Weimar Republic and to the ranks of those who were fighting for national resurrection.

It was only by chance that he, unlike his brother, did not become a member of the National Socialist Party. Their programme for a national revival was fundamentally his own, with its vehement denial of all that was meant by individualism, parliamentarianism, pacifism, marxism, and judaism. And so from 1924 onwards he voted for this party.

So at first he found nothing repugnant about the new national movement—which indeed, declared it was based on the "foundation of positive Christianity." It is all the more to his credit that he spoke out against that movement as soon as he saw where it was leading.

Nazi "Christianity"

THE "foundation of positive Christianity" has become a mockery. The (Nazi) Minister for Church Affairs declared, just two years ago, that to say that Christianity was a question of the acknowledgment of

War is Finished says Colonel

"I am optimist enough to wonder whether we have not arrived already at the stage at which 'Wars shall be no more,' simply because modern armaments have become so appallingly destructive that no-one will dare start them off for fear that they will prove as destructive to the winner as to the loser."

—A Colonel on the Active List.

War Resistance Abroad

The following further informative group talks have been arranged by the War Resisters' International Group of Speakers:—
March 17, MUSWELL HILL; H. Runham Brown.
19, ROCHDALE; Alfred T. Stone.
21, GROVE PARK; Eric T. Roach.
21, BETHNAL GREEN; Stanley Cooper.
21, NEASDEN; Mabel Baker.
22, BATH; George H. Lockett.
29, HACKNEY; Stanley Cooper.
April 6, WANDSWORTH; Sydney Larcombe.

Any other groups in or near London, or in the Bristol or Manchester area, wishing to hear about the work for war resistance abroad, should communicate with:—

Sydney P. Larcombe, Ridge Cottage, Wildernesse Mount, Sevenoaks, Kent, or Grace M. Beaton, General Secretary, War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Jesus as the Son of God was "ridiculous, quite unessential."

There was, said this "German Christian," a "new authority as to what Christ and Christianity really is"—Adolf Hitler! Between such "Christianity" and the faith of a man who believed "that the Holy Bible should be heard and followed directly and practically as the Living Word of God," there could be no compromise.

As the Bishop of Chichester writes in his foreword to the book, National Socialism was a religion, "not less a religion because its creed was material. It could not, therefore, tolerate the teaching by the Christian Church or any form of religion which seemed to it inconsistent with the requirements of the German race and State."

Niemöller had looked for a reconstruction of Germany along the old Prussian lines, instead of the emergence of a new order, and "one did not need to be a clergyman's son to know that the tradition of the Prussian State and army had always gone hand-in-hand with the Christian education of its people."

So it was that when the Young Reformation Movement opposed the "German Christians" during the early days of the Nazi régime, Niemöller himself "emphasized not only the right of the new State, but also its acknowledgment by the Church as its saviour and liberator."

Swing to the Opposition

BEFORE many weeks had passed, however, the authorities refused to allow the appointment as Reichsbishop of a man who was not a "German Christian." Instead, the now notorious Ludwig Müller was appointed to that post; Niemöller had known Müller well "as a former naval chaplain and he had fearlessly told him to his face what he thought of him." And so the battle was joined.

The Pastors' Emergency League was formed, with Niemöller as president, to resist the attempts of Müller and his colleagues to "Nazify" the Evangelical Church, and the Confessional opposition pastors left the "Brownshirt" Assembly. The manner in which Niemöller himself did this was typical of him:

He deliberately appeared in a light grey suit and took no part in the preliminary service, to show his contempt and his refusal to acknowledge the new constitution of the Church.

The book gives some "snapshots" of Niemöller during the hectic period that followed. He did not allow his leading position in the nation-wide struggle to stand in the way of his pastoral work, and his devotion to both were inspired by his faith. Yet we learn that, for all his ardour and outspokenness,

within the four walls of his home . . . the picture of a different Niemöller came to the fore—the picture of a man who went to preach in fear and trembling, who was for ever reaching the limit of his physical strength, who again and again wished to give up his office in despair at the presence of so much discord and disloyalty in his own ranks.

National Honour, And All That

But can you tell me, sir, what national honour does for me? I've worked on the land all my life, and the least I've ever earned is four-and-six a week and the most is twenty-nine shillings. . . . In 1914 a man comes down to this green here, and he makes a speech about just that very national honour that you've been talking about. Mind you, sir, in 1914 the nation and all its honour was giving me twenty-two shillings a week, and I was working seventy-four hours a week for it. But I had to give three sons and eight grandsons to fight for the national honour. Eleven of them. And three were killed and two lost legs. And what good did that do to them or to me or Mr. Davis here or Mr. Darley? Cost of living is higher. Beer is more expensive and so is tobacco. And my grandsons, the ones that weren't killed, can't get work. And all that for what you call national honour. . . . War! What good is war to us?

A. G. Macdonald in *England their England*.

For a long time the opposition of which he was the central figure defied the State Church authorities. But on July 1, 1937, there fell the blow which had been expected for some time: Niemöller was arrested.

For four years a life in motion "at full speed," and now a table, a chair, a bed within the walls of a cell! Once, from early morning till late at night, people, and still more people; and now, solitude and dead silence. Others might endure it, but not Martin Niemöller.

But he has endured it. Six months after his arrest he was still able to write triumphantly:

I believe that my arrest is a part of the sacred humour of God. First comes the mocking laughter, "Now we've got him!"—then the arrest—and the result? Fuller churches and praying congregations. "Leap with rage, O world—I stand here safe and calm, and I sing. The might of God watches over me. Earth and abyss flee away, for all their threatening." To grow bitter would be base ingratitude.

In February last year came the long-deferred trial, with its sentence of seven months' imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 marks (about £85). The term of imprisonment was considered as having been served during the period under arrest awaiting trial.

In Concentration Camp

NO sooner was Niemöller released, however, than he was taken by the State Secret Police to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. There he remains, despite the efforts of his followers. But his faith and influence remain unshaken:

This is not the end of that "No" which he has uttered in holy earnest against all false gods and which his conscience, bound to God's Word, will not withdraw even for the prize of liberty. . . .

This is the other Niemöller—robbed of his freedom, his work and his family, brought by force to silence, and yet in his cell he is probably more eloquent and more powerful than in the pulpit.

That is Niemöller the pastor; a tribute to Niemöller the man is also worth quoting. It is from an official of the Secret Police:

There is no doubt about it—Pastor Niemöller is a jolly good fellow—one of the finest we have in the whole of Germany!

Whatever one thinks of his creed—and some Christians would dissent from parts of it—or of his attitude to political questions, his stand is significant. To turn against the movement he had welcomed so sincerely was no easy matter for him; but he did it.

The Bishop of Chichester, who in his foreword rightly recalls our partial responsibility for post-War Germany, points out the "obligation laid upon every Christian, of every country and Church, to search his own heart, to consider how far interests other than Christian control his own personal or social life, and whether he is himself denying the Word of God."

Such things can happen here—and in a much more subtle manner than that which opened Niemöller's eyes.

John W. Cowling

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

The Editor's Point of View

Actions and Words

DURING the past week there have been such cheering signs as talks of the possibility of an arms limitation conference, perhaps even this year, and SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S interesting suggestion that "five men in Europe, the three dictators and the Prime Ministers of England and France," might take united action for peace that could "in an incredibly short space of time transform the whole history of the world." These do not so much raise as renew hopes among those who had for long urged that some such steps should be taken. They will be encouraged thereby to keep up their demand.

They will not be encouraged by further delay, nor by boasts of our armed might. Not merely because those who have faith in the method of conference are impatient and have no use for arms, but because of the actual reception of such boasts in quarters where agreement is most anxiously sought and because of the danger of the growth of ill feeling represented by that reception with every week's delay. Above all, those who have high hopes of bringing the nations together in conference are discouraged—remembering that actions speak louder than words—by the fact that the only resolute actions to be seen are those directed toward war preparations, while schemes of peace remain mere words.

To protest, as did the leader-writer of *The Times* last week, that "our determination to make good our defences . . . does not conceal or weaken a profound conviction that civilized peoples are born for some better purpose than to arm against each other" is not helpful. It does not even hint at any "determination to make good" that conviction in terms of positive action. The inescapable conclusion is that we mean nevertheless to go on arming against others.

The idea may be the interesting one put forward by LORD ELTON in the *Sunday Times* that

Between the era of change by war and the era of change by argument lies perhaps an interlude of change by argument between highly armed Powers, yet without war. That, instead of confining its evidence to words, the plaintiff Power should spend thousands of millions upon armaments, and blusteringly proclaim its readiness to go to war, is in the last degree costly, dangerous and irrational. Nevertheless, if, despite the weapons and the threats, one more accommodation can be reached without Armageddon, an immense stride will have been taken toward a humaner future. For though this will, it is true, have been to sit round a council table with a loaded revolver in either hand, it will nevertheless have been to sit round a council table.

LORD ELTON, of course, goes on to claim that "it is necessary, alas! for us to have the revolvers when next we argue." To admit that an accommodation despite the weapons is better than no accommodation at all is not to agree with him—any more than, in joining in the general relief at Munich, pacifists ranged themselves behind MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S, or anyone else's, arms policy. Nor is it to admit that events would in fact turn out so happily. There is more than an uneasy feeling that they would not.

LORD ELTON'S very reason for our having "the revolvers"—namely, that "if only one party to the argument brings revolvers, revolvers count too much"—indicates that "the revolvers" exist for the purpose of getting one's own way, either in the positive sense or in the negative sense of not allowing the other party to get his own way. That fact—while both parties believe in the power of violence—keeps the arms race going; and it can end only in disaster or in the conversion of one party to the principle of sacrifice which alone can ensure success for the method of consultation and cooperation.

Humphrey S. Moore

THE SILENCE OF LORD BALDWIN

By JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

PROBABLY a good many readers of *Peace News* read an extremely interesting interchange of letters in *The Times* a week ago. Professor Gilbert Murray indicted Mr. Chamberlain for failing to represent the real temper of the British nation.

"When a large part, and perhaps the most thoughtful part, of the nation is daily and hourly harassed by thoughts of the hideous sufferings inflicted on millions of innocent human beings, and the monstrous crimes against humanity which are being daily perpetrated and perpetrated with success, the Prime Minister somehow leaves the impression—perhaps an unjustified impression—of being entirely indifferent to such issues. His kind words are all for the oppressors; his unkind words for the sufferers. His words of comfort are devoted to showing how this country can, after all, make money out of the agonies of others."

Mr. J. A. Spender and Mr. Ernest Barker came to the defence of the Prime Minister. Mr. Spender justly praised Mr. Chamberlain for having deflated certain ideas about the League of Nations; while Mr. Barker, unjustly, praised him for having insisted on "the need of material resources to back ideals." Both alike appear to have fastened on the fact that Professor Murray was an ardent and indefatigable advocate of the League of Nations, and to have ignored the real substance of his criticism of Mr. Chamberlain.

The discussion is of unusual interest, because the three disputants are among the most distinguished of the old-time "Liberals" in this country. To them one would apply the word liberal in something more than the narrowly political sense. Not one of them was a politician, though Mr. Spender was the leading journalist of the pre-war Liberal Party. One would need to add to them the more radical H. W. Massingham to get the mixture exactly right. But Massingham, alas, is dead; and one may fairly say that these three men represent between them the finest element in the "liberal" ethos of this country, as it existed up to the war of 1914. I think they ceased to be representative after that, simply because the liberalism which they represented was in decline. What should have been the new generation of liberals was simply engulfed by the early years of the War. And the triumph of Mr. Lloyd George helped the disintegration in the more narrowly political sphere.

BUT I repeat I am using the word "liberal" in no party sense. Mr. Baldwin was "liberal"; and, very naturally, Professor Murray contrasts his effort to make the government genuinely national in sentiment with Mr. Chamberlain's conduct of affairs.

Indeed, Professor Murray's real criticism of Mr. Chamberlain is that he is not "liberal," though for obvious reasons he does not use the word. We speak of a "liberal education"; I never feel that Mr. Chamberlain has been tempered by one. We speak of the "liberal arts"; I never feel that Mr. Chamberlain has had his imagination kindled by them. "He is not a trickster, not a cynic, not a man utterly without heart," says Professor Murray, with manifest justice. "But why has he goaded not merely Mr. Attlee but millions of people throughout the country into imagining that he is?"

That is a fascinating question. And a true answer to it would be worth having. I do not think the answer is: Because he is not "liberal." A pertinent question is: Why did Mr. Baldwin, who is "liberal," resign? If you read the speeches of Mr. Baldwin during the two or three months before his resignation, you get a glimpse of the answer to that question. He resigned because the "liberal" mind could not cope with the situation.

Mr. Baldwin's final speeches are remarkable: they show a lucid acknowledgment of the appalling menace to civilization in the growing threat of totalitarian war, and they reveal a complete despair. And I remember my conviction as I read them that Mr. Baldwin was bound to throw in his hand, simply because, if he remained Prime Minister much longer, he would be compelled to say something that would split the Conservative Party from top to bottom. Mr. Baldwin, like Keats, saw "too deep into the core of an eternal fierce destruction."

I OFTEN think that Mr. Baldwin, by remaining loyal to his party and his tradition, let his country down, and let Europe down.

But that is not the point. In Mr. Baldwin was made manifest to me the final failure of the "liberal" mind; he had to hand over to a different type of mind alto-

gether—a narrower type of mind. His kind of mind could not bear the burden of responsibility in the modern world any more.

And I am afraid Professor Murray is asking for the impossible when he says, desperately: "There must be some way in which the Government can convince us that it has some generous enthusiasm, that its policy has some moral basis, that it is not always ready to side with the strong against the weak." No National Government could exist in England today if it had either a moral basis or generous enthusiasm. International politics have said good-bye to morality for good and all. What is the *real* basis of our policy? The determination to blow the population of Germany into fragments, if need be. You can't moralize that; you can't work up any generous enthusiasm on that foundation. Mr. Baldwin saw that, and said it.

Having said it, he retired. He emerged from his retirement again to take the lead in pleading for the refugees. It was characteristic of him: he is a generous-minded man. But what he did as a private citizen, he should have done as Prime Minister; what he called upon individuals to do, he should have called upon the nation to do. But why say he should have done this or that? If Mr. Baldwin had taken, as a political leader, the line toward which his imagination was compelling him, he would have ceased to be a political leader. Rather than convulse his country and his party he preferred to resign. He never speaks in the House of Lords. He has lifted up his voice to the nation on the one question of the refugees.

The silence of Mr. Baldwin is significant. It is the expression, in the actual and responsible experience of a leading English statesman, of the incompatibility between pacifism and politics. Pacifist politics just aren't politics. They are far better than politics, no doubt. But so soon as you try to express them in political terms, you get something that just "isn't politics"—unilateral disarmament, for instance. Mr. Baldwin had got to the point where there was nothing for him to say, as Prime Minister of England, but unilateral disarmament. And he couldn't say that. Only the man who has to carry no political responsibility can say that. The conflict is as old as Christianity itself: It is time we began to see that the conflict is inevitable.

★

THAT is what I personally understand by pacifism—the imagination that sees that if you are going to take the responsibility of political leadership in the modern world, you can't be a pacifist.

Conversely, if you are a pacifist you will never be allowed to be a political leader in the modern world. That seems to me obvious. But don't make the obvious deduction that pacifism, because it is untranslatable into practical political terms, is impractical. It is politics that is becoming impractical. The political antithesis between the Government and the Opposition in this country is growing more and more illusory. That is the real reason why the Labour Opposition is so angry with Mr. Chamberlain. It has to assume a moral indignation which it obscurely knows has no moral basis. Any sensitive individual knows the condition from his own experience: when we want to be angry and know we have no right to be. How angry we are, then!

The opposition between the Government and Labour is quite specious, and quite irreconcilable. The real basis of the Opposition is exactly the same as that of the Government—to blow the population of Germany to pieces, if need be. You can't make a moral issue of which is the better of two evident roads to Hell. Precisely because there is no moral issue dividing the Government, the Opposition is in fury.

But the country at large doesn't feel like that at all. It isn't indignant with Mr. Chamberlain. Nor is it really apathetic. It just feels that the issue is too big for its comprehension; and it simply doesn't respond to the heroics of the Labour Party or Sir Stafford Cripps. Here, I believe is the real opportunity of the Peace Pledge Union—to become the voice of these dumb masses of decent folk. They are not with the politicians today—Government or Opposition. They do not respond to the appeal for National Service—not because they are unpatriotic, but because they dimly feel that "patriotism is not enough."

What we have to do is to be for ever consulting our hearts to find in the ever-changing circumstances what is "enough." It is no use being anti. No use even being anti-War. Everybody is. We have to find out what we are really for, and follow that clue. We shall find it practical enough, without a doubt.

Workless May Be Forced Into Compulsory Service

"CONTEMPTIBLE" PLAN TO AID RECRUITMENT

THE latest phase in the unofficial campaign for compulsory National Service has been the suggestion that benefit should be withheld from unemployed men who will not undergo training. The answer of the No Conscription League to this proposal is given below, together with news of the latest pacifist activities in connexion with the National Service scheme. (See also "A Pacifist Commentary," page twelve.)

"FOR the authorities to take advantage of the unfortunate position of the unemployed to impose compulsory military training would be contemptible and deserves the widest possible opposition from the people of this country."

This sentence occurs in a resolution passed by the No Conscription League condemning the proposals of the Government to compel young unemployed men to attend "training camps."

"Despite re-assurances to the contrary the League regards the statements of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour as savouring strongly of enforced training for military purposes," states the resolution.

Mr. Donald Fraser, prospective Labour candidate for Norfolk (South) at the last Executive Committee of the League, moved a resolution congratulating the forty-seven Trade Councils, and the executives of the NUR, the Printing Trades' Association, the Transport and General Workers, the South Wales Miners, and other unions for their opposition to the National Register.

Three Policies To Choose From

BETWEEN six and seven hundred people attended a meeting held by the Joint Committee for War Resistance in Birmingham last week.

Mr. Fenner Brockway, of the ILP and chairman of the No Conscription League, was the first speaker. "The two major evils which are both capable of immediate solution," he said, "are the evil of poverty and the evil of war."

"We must choose from three policies today," Fenner Brockway continued. "Firstly, the policy of appeasement, that is the united front of the capitalists, giving away the weak to the strong. Secondly, the system of having the democracies line up against the fascist Powers, Mr. Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden, Duff Cooper, the Labour Party—and perhaps the Communist Party in a fit of spite—but this is obviously not a peace policy. Lastly," he said, "in every country the people must make resistance to war and war preparation to their utmost ability."

"National Service," said Mrs. Eleanor Barton, "is a false waste of time and money; in Sheffield, despite the poverty, the Corporation have decorated the tramcars with ARP slogans, while babies starve! Cannot we, with the assistance of the trade unions, resist this growing evil of National Service which will surely rush us headlong into at the least industrial conscription?"

Mr. James Hudson, secretary of the No Conscription League, said that during the past week the Government had turned slightly from volun-

tary service, and in many circles calling it obligatory service.

IMPLICATIONS CONSIDERED

The implications of the National Register were considered at a meeting of Pax, a Catholic pacifist association. It was finally agreed that no definite ruling could be given as to the conduct of individual members of Pax, but a resolution adopted expressed "approval of the view of the Peace Pledge Union relative to the scheme of National Service, on the ground that the scheme is a preliminary to conscription and part of the preparation for war."

4,000,000 Must Get Work Before Hitler Will Disarm

"I HAVE just returned from an international conference, and I found how different the views are on the Continent with regard to what we are doing, from what we think the views of the Continent are," said the Rev. George Macleod, of Govan, at a meeting held in Glasgow to demand the calling of a new peace conference.

It should be broadcast to the Continent, he said, that there are millions of people in this country who wish a peace conference called at once.

"I believe that one of the reasons for the conference is that we are not likely to have disarmament until we realize the end of priority of power. I am certain that parleys and discussion must precede any move for the disarming of the people."

"It is useless for people to say that Germany would disarm. They must realize that for Germany to disarm would mean throwing people out of work. There will be no disarmament in Germany until a situation is created in which Hitler can find work for 4,000,000 people."

"Disarmament, therefore, is not something which is going to become practical politics until prior place is given to full discussion on all the economic problems which fall behind."

Eric Gill Becomes Leader of Catholic Pacifists

Mr. Eric Gill consented to be chairman of Pax, a Catholic pacifist association, at a meeting of the committee held in London recently.

The committee had been called to consider the future of Pax, and a revised constitution was adopted.

Refugee Relief: Unfair to the Unemployed?

THE argument that it is unfair to the unemployed to admit refugees into Britain is answered by the Rev. William W. Simpson, General Secretary of the Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe, in a pamphlet published by the council.

He recalls that the Home Secretary stated on December 5, 1938, that whereas in recent years 11,000 refugees had been admitted into the country, it was definitely known that not less than 15,000 British workers had found employment as a direct result of their coming. Mr. Simpson adds, however, that such considerations "do not constitute the real basis of our endeavours on behalf of the refugees. To offer them shelter in our midst because we may reasonably hope to benefit by their coming is the very negation of all true Christian charity."

"Fundamentally the problem is one not of politics or economics, but of sheer human misery and despair. . . . Still more fundamental is the fact that, until the nations of Europe and the world are prepared to deal, not merely with effects, but causes, on a scale comparable to that on which, at the present time, they are pouring their energies into channels which can only be regarded as divisive and destructive, we cannot hope for an effective solution of the refugee problem, the unemployment problem, or any other of our major difficulties."

The pamphlet is entitled *Refugees and Our Unemployed*, and is published by the Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe, Bloomsbury House, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1.

TURNED AWAY

The urgent need of unregistered and stateless refugees in Prague is emphasized in a further report received from Mrs. E. M. D. Benjamin, of the Peace Pledge Union, who has been undertaking relief work in Czecho-Slovakia for several months.

Last week we reported that she had almost reached the end of her resources. Her latest report reveals that on one day recently she had to turn away a family with six children; a middle-aged woman, who burst into tears; a man turned out of Vienna in January; a man and his wife who have lived for fifteen years in Sudetenland; and four others. "Five were given food tickets for the day," she writes, "but it is quite impossible to put them on the weekly list—and so it is every day; it is a growing problem."

Mrs. Benjamin also tells of the arrival and distribution of the Christmas gifts sent by Peace Pledge Union members.

DELAYED WEDDING

The first two refugees to go to the agricultural training centre at Fountains Hall Estate, near Ripon, to be opened shortly by the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends, are Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Leopold Michnik, who were married last Thursday.

This young couple had made all plans to be married in Vienna, and had actually had the religious ceremony when the Anschluss took place, and they had to separate, as they were both non-Aryans.

Through the Germany Emergency Committee Anna Einaugler (now Mrs. Michnik), the daughter of a doctor, came to this country and took up nursing last August. Mr. Michnik, who is to be the forester at the Ripon Centre, only arrived in England on February 21. They are spending their honeymoon in getting the camp ready for other refugees who will shortly arrive.

"INVASION" MYTH

Official figures, quoted by Sir Norman Angell in an article on refugees in this month's *Lilliput*, show that:

The foreign population of Britain is 300,000. The proportion of foreigners in four professions (architects, dentists, doctors and lawyers) is less than three foreigners to every 997 Britons. Since 1933, about 20,000 refugees have entered this country. Of these, about 6,000 have been emigrated; the remainder consists of about 3,000 child and 11,000 adult refugees.

France, on the other hand, has received 200,000 refugees. (It has a foreign population of 3,000,000.)

Belgium and Holland have also received more refugees than has Britain.

Fifty-two refugees were emigrated from Austria, Germany, Italy and Yugoslavia by the Germany Emergency Committee during February. Fourteen of these went to Australia, ten to New Zealand and twenty-one to the Americas.

Dick Sheppard House: PPU Headquarters



Above you see how Dick Sheppard House (6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1), the new headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union, looks from the outside. What you call there you will find inside:

BASEMENT: Literature department and printing press; Mr. Palmer.

GROUND FLOOR: Reception room and office, telephone exchange; Miss Allen.

FIRST FLOOR: Sponsors' room, offices of Canon Stuart Morris, Miss Nancy Brown, John Barclay, and Alan Staniland.

SECOND FLOOR: Stock room, secretaries' room, offices of Richard Ward, David Spreckley, and Roy Walker.

THIRD FLOOR: Accountants' department, Frank Middleton. Also volunteers' room, and duplicating room.

FOURTH FLOOR: Signatories' department; Miss Moffat.

Add to this a book lift running from the basement to the second floor, and an electrically fed boiler which warms everyone up, and you have the new headquarters. Contributions toward the cost of the new building will still be welcomed.

The Problem in Palestine

The first issue of *The Democratic Focus*, published by the Peace and Progressive Information Service (under the secretaryship of Ben Greene), deals with the problem in Palestine and outlines "the only road to peace."

Copies are obtainable from the Peace and Progressive Information Service, The Wilderness, Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire.

Social Service Improvements in Jamaica

Sir Arthur Frederick Richards, Governor of Jamaica, is anxious to encourage a sturdier independence of the working class. He announced on Tuesday an extensive programme of social service under which rehousing will be undertaken, social services extended, poor law relief improved, and wages fixed "on a fair basis" of a five-and-a-half day week.

Sir Arthur told the Legislative Council that Jamaica's financial position "is a matter for some anxiety."

Next Week

Reginald Reynolds asks the French President: "LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY—For Whom?"

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

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ETHEL MANNIN on

The Great Revolt

Revolt Against War. By H. V. Engelbrecht. Werner Laurie. 10s. 6d.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT will be remembered as the co-author of the sensational book about the arms racket, *Merchants of Death*. In this new book he has no collaborator, but Robert S. Lynd contributes a vigorous foreword in which he denounces "the glorification of aggressiveness" which is heading our civilization for destruction.

He speaks of Mr. Engelbrecht meeting the "specialized responsibility" of "giving publicity and more publicity to the stupidities that breed war and to the chicaneries that sell the war spirit; to its incalculable waste of human life, of human energies, and of economic resources; and to the many social problems inevitably intensified by war."

Revolt Against War is no mere sentimental indictment; it is an exhaustive study of the evils of war. The author reminds his readers that questions were asked in the House of Commons in an attempt to stop Dick Sheppard's campaign of recruiting war resisters. He sees in the international anti-war movement "an elemental upsurge of popular opinion," a heartening and immense human revolt against war. Would that this were so!

He himself goes on to point out that nevertheless for years the world has been standing "at the rim of the abyss ready to plunge into another World War," and that governments "talk glibly about peace and assure their people that they hate war, but preparations for the great mass slaughter go on as never before."

I personally find it difficult to reconcile the two statements. If there were indeed "an immense human revolt against war" these preparations, straining the nation's finances to breaking point, involving loans too huge for the ordinary person to grasp, could not proceed.

Beware of Atrocities

Again on the one hand Mr. Engelbrecht, very rightly, warns us against atrocity stories, pointing out that atrocities on both sides are an inevitable part of every war, and shows us how the same old atrocity stories are reshaped with each new war, and how photographs are faked; then, in writing of imperialism, quotes numerous atrocities—and reproduces a photograph to prove one particularly revolting story of maimed children.

It may be a genuine story and a genuine photograph, but the inquiring-minded reader, attempting to be impartial, may well ask, sceptically, "Is one only to believe atrocity stories and photographs when they illustrate the writer's case?"

In writing of nationalism, too, Mr. Engelbrecht omits to discriminate between a liberating nationalism such as the Irish republican struggle, the struggle against the British in India, and the struggle of the Arabs against the unholy alliance of British Imperialism and Zionism in Palestine, and an imperialist nationalism such as that which leads to fascism as in Germany and Italy.

But these criticisms are minor compared with the immense documentary value of the book. He covers, for example, an important aspect of war which is apt to be neglected in discussion on the subject—the social evils of prostitution and the spread of disease which are as inseparable from war as the massacre of civilians.

He reminds us, too, of the aftermath of war—war-blindness, shell-shock, insanity, the horrible delayed reactions of poison gas which assert themselves years later when the war itself has already become a part of history and is "over and done with."

Price of War

He shows us that war is never over and done with—not modern warfare—that it imposes life-sentences of suffering and blindness upon hundreds of thousands of its survivors.

He goes into the facts and figures of the economic havoc of war in town and country and observes, having drawn up a rough balance-sheet of the last war, "when Mars presents bills such as this, it is apparent

that he will soon be the only creditor to whom the entire world is mortgaged. All educational, artistic, cultural and humanitarian budgets will have to be reduced to a few crumbs which fall off Mars' table."

Very ably he shows how the colonial system is a source of wars, and discussing the "civilizing missions" not merely of the fascist countries but of the so-called "democracies." Great Britain, France, America, reminds us that "by a curious rational blindness every country seems to notice the colonial atrocities of its neighbours and rivals, but not its own."

In his concluding chapter, "Vital Peace," he stresses the importance of the creation of peace-minded people as a road to peace, and peace education to this end, pointing out that as long as huge armaments and arms races continue the world is not on the road to peace, and that "nations armed to the teeth have shown themselves very reluctant to travel another path away from war, toward the establishment of a world State."

A Contradiction

He insists that the League of Nations, no matter what criticisms might be made of it, nevertheless embodies the idea essential to world peace—which would again seem to be a contradiction since he has himself pointed out the capitalist-imperialist interests responsible for war; does he really believe that when thieves get round a table and talk of "honesty" they really mean it, have any genuine intention of cooperation for the communal good? Has history itself not shown us what happens in the "thieves' kitchen" despite all the fine-sounding ideas and ideals? Does not Engelbrecht himself remind us that "the people called for disarmament and the governments gave them disarmament conferences"?

He says himself that "sovereign States with capitalist economies find war a normal

way of securing their ends." Of course they do, and always will, League of Nations or no. What right have we to expect anything of a capitalist-imperialist League of Nations, or capitalist-imperialist "disarmament" conferences?

Truly, as Engelbrecht insists, as Bart de Ligt always insisted, pacifists must be revolutionaries if they are to be effective and not merely negative; they must oppose the system that breeds war for the expansion of its imperialist interests and the protection of those interests and of private profits.

Gigantic Reconstruction

Nor is it enough to "curb" capitalists and "modify" capitalist practices as Engelbrecht suggests, and not merely must fascism be opposed "with all the vigour of peaceful weapons," but the capitalist-imperialist forces which create both it and its twin war.

There can be no world-reconstruction for peace through a League of Nations composed of bandits, active and retired. "World peace means a gigantic moral and political and economic reconstruction. People seeking an easy road to peace will simply wander about in a circle and will soon be back on the wellworn and deeply rutted road to war."

This is profoundly true, but the reconstruction must surely be revolutionary, not merely reformist, if it is to prevent the peace-seekers wandering round in circles and getting back to where they started from.

But there is no need to be in entire agreement with all Mr. Engelbrecht's conclusions in order to appreciate the value of this book. It is an immensely valuable book, from the documentary and the educative point of view equally. It should be studied by every serious seeker after world peace in our time. It is an important contribution to the international movement whose purpose is "revolt against war."

Left Wing Jingoism

Between Two Wars. By "Vigilantes" (K. Zilliacus). Penguin Special. 6d.

IT is a long time since I have read a more confused and politically dishonest book than *Between Two Wars*. It is a clumsily written jingoistic appeal for a Popular Front from Winston Churchill to Harry Pollitt to save the Empire in the name of Democracy. For we are asked to believe that the British capitalist class, as represented by the National Government, are no longer capable of looking after their imperial interests.

The Prime Minister and his colleagues are just a gang of spineless traitors, according to this author, sacrificing "our (sic) vital imperial interests to the dictators." And among three alternative hypotheses for the present foreign policy of the Government is the suggestion "that Mr. Chamberlain and his Inner Cabinet have secretly joined the Peace Pledge Union, are firmly resolved not to fight for anything and are trying to convert the British people to integral pacifism" (page 200).

Liberals' Role

Starting from this premise that the National Government is betraying its imperial trust, Mr. Zilliacus maintains that it is up to the working class to postpone its agitation and struggle for social emancipation by making an alliance with sections of the imperialist class (Liberals and "progressive" Tories) to smash the fascist dictators. With the safety of the Empire achieved and the honour of Democracy vindicated, the workers may then resume the fight for socialism.

This is the essence of the author's thesis, the dishonesty of which is proved by his own revelations in the early part of the book, where he relates how the workers of Britain and other lands were swindled by these same Liberals. In support of this contention he quotes from Lloyd George's War Memoirs, to the effect that there was

an advantage in having "a Liberal rather than a Tory Government in power when war was declared. There was a further advantage in having a Government at the head of affairs which had the support of Labour. This secured the adhesion of the great Labour organization whose action and sympathetic aid was essential to its vigorous prosecution. Had Labour been hostile the war could not have been carried on effectively" (page 65).

Dangerous People

Having made clear the rôle of Lloyd George and Winston Churchill in the war, the peace settlement and the intervention in Russia, this man, who calls himself a socialist, has the temerity to confess that "In spite of the rôle played by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill in the events unfolded in the first part, I wish to say that if we could get a strong Labour or Labour-controlled government I think Mr. Churchill would be the best available Minister for Defence, and that if Mr. Lloyd George were twenty years younger, with his present convictions, he would be the best available Prime Minister for such a Government. He is a great man" (page 28).

These people are definitely dangerous and a menace to the working class movement. It is very necessary for the workers to watch these intellectual Philistines and to be vigilant against their opportunist sophistries. For just as Lloyd George admits that there was an advantage in having "a Liberal rather than a Tory Government in power when war was declared," similarly it would be a great advantage to British imperialism to have a so-called Popular Front Government in office when the next war breaks out. For a Left-wing sergeant is always a more effective recruiting agent than a Tory colonel.

George Padmore

Glimpses of Life Abroad

Soviet Russia

WHEN I arrived in Leningrad, after nearly five days at sea, I found the city a strange mixture of past and present. The main streets and squares were full of the past, the architecture being baroque. On going to the newer suburbs, I found aggressive industrialism.

Generally speaking, the men were far better dressed than the women. They wore white smocks, with narrow leather belts, and often riding breeches and boots. Shaven heads were common, so in summer many wore the tibetka, a small embroidered skull-cap, on the back of their heads. The women wore very plain dresses, or blouses and skirts, and covered their heads with a shawl, or a handkerchief.

I went to the Lido one afternoon with a friend, having politely declined an organized tour of the city.

At the Theatre

The Russians are enthusiastic swimmers, and the beach was crowded. I was astonished at the physique of the people there. The women, according to our standards, were heavily built, with very broad shoulders and hips. The men were generally rather tall, and heavily muscled.

That night I went to a theatre. It was soon obvious to me that the Russians had not lost their talent for dancing.

After the first interval, we returned to find our seats occupied. We looked round, and found all our neighbours different. The thin man and his tiny wife were about four rows nearer the stage. Apparently the returning audience simply sat in any empty seats they fancied! Afterward I discovered that this is the usual procedure.

Changing Moscow

I went on to Moscow some time later, by the night express, the "Red Star." This is one of their crack trains, and was very comfortable, even in my third-class sleeper.

I found Moscow a most interesting city, and far nearer my preconceived ideas of Russia, though huge skyscraper hotels were being built on American lines.

I went on the Metro to the Park of Culture and Rest, and was surprised to see marble underground stations and subways. Each station is in a different coloured marble, and some have concealed lighting and mural sculptures.

Later, I travelled "hard" from Moscow to Gorki—the ancient Nishni-Novgorod. The coach was packed, although, thanks to the broad-gauge track, it was very large.

In berths adjoining mine were a "thermodynamic engineer" and his wife, who were very friendly, like all the other Russians I met. When they discovered that I had forgotten to bring any food, they insisted on sharing theirs with me. So I supped off salami, brown bread, and tea.

Peter Coates

All in a Maze

WOULD IT NOT BE BETTER?

THE direct or indirect destruction of a German soldier costs us 20,000 francs, without counting the loss to our population, which is only repaired at the end of twenty-five years. Would it not be better to save the expense of this costly, inconvenient and dangerous apparatus of a permanent army, and instead to buy the enemy army when the opportunity presents itself? An Englishman put the value of a man at 480 pounds sterling. That is the highest valuation, and they are not all as dear, as one knows; but even so there would still be a great deal to be gained in finance and everything in population, since we should have a new man for our money, whereas under the present system we lose the one we have, without profiting by the one we have so expensively destroyed.

John Law. Written c. 1714.

Euvres 1790.

The above is an extract from the Peace and War anthology "All in a Maze," by Daniel George, with some assistance from Rose Macaulay. It is published by Collins, 6s. net.

At the Theatre

MINORITIES

An Enemy of the People. Old Vic.

LIKE *The Mother*, to which it is in a sense complementary, this play by Ibsen has a peculiar interest and value for pacifists. Capek's play is, in part at least, an emotional plea for a pacific outlook, based on the suffering of women and on the impartial observation of political fact: Ibsen's sardonic comedy, taking a wider view, shows the moral aspect of a reforming minority in relation to society as a whole.

Dr. Stockman's forthright declaration that "minorities are always right" may be that of a man driven to extremes by the emotional stress of opposition, but the point is clearly made that although majorities may be an expedient means of decision, the question of "right" and "wrong" is an individual one and stands outside the consideration of mere numbers.

STIMULATING PLAY

An *Enemy of the People* is an inherently purposeful play, with an intellectual vigour and dramatic skill that easily avoid the major faults of its propagandist kind, and with a zestful drive that makes the minor ones of small account.

Any over-emphasis or redundancy of statement is due to sheer exuberance of feeling, irresistibly communicated to the audience, and if the last didactic scene strikes a sentimentally unreal note it does not diminish the stimulating effect of the whole.

Moreover, the zeal with which Ibsen attacks his subject is allied to a sense of ironic humour which gives balance and lightness to the play and must certainly dispel the common idea of his unrelieved "gloom": a play of ideas as lively and exciting as this makes any "comedy-thriller" seem insipid.

The Old Vic production, boisterous at times to the point of buffoonery, keeps its audience alert and amused. In this story of a man fighting for "truth and right" against a "compact majority" representing public opinion, there are speeches so apt in current political circumstances that the play might have been written deliberately to illustrate them.

W. H. Gelder.

WARNED 30 YEARS AGO

UNPRECEDENTED as is the scale of the present race in armaments, the basic folly which it represents is unfortunately an old one.

In the years before the Great War an insane race in naval armaments was in progress. Then, as now, there were people who raised their voices in warning. A reader of *Peace News* has discovered a reprint from the *Southport Visitor* of April 17, 1909, quoting a memorial sent to the Prime Minister in February of that year by the Society of Friends, expressing serious concern at "the suggestions which are now being made for a large increase in the naval Estimates."

"We regard any such increase at this juncture," continued the memorial, "as calculated to bring about similar increases on the part of other nations, with whom we are now manifestly being drawn into more friendly relations."

"We desire to remind you of the words of the late Prime Minister: 'I hold that the growth of armaments is a great danger to the peace of the world. A policy of huge armaments keeps alive and stimulates and feeds the belief that force is the best, if not the only solution of international differences. It is a policy that tends to inflame old sores and to create new sores.'"

The "late Prime Minister" was Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman. His warning went unheeded, and the naval race ended in the Great War. Looking back on that period, Lord Grey, who was Foreign Secretary in 1914, reinforced Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman's warning. "The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made war inevitable," he wrote.

Does Mr. Chamberlain intend to pay as little attention to that warning as the Premier of 1909 did to the words quoted above?

ANDREW STEWART, "Speaking Personally," on

Pacifism and the Peace Pledge Union

DISCUSSIONS on pacifism and the Peace Pledge Union may very easily result only in the parties finding themselves talking at cross purposes, if they are not careful at the outset to define their terms.

Pacifism is a word currently used in two entirely different significances.

It is used in the Press, and most commonly in conversation, to describe that attitude towards war which is summed up in the PPU slogan, "War, We Say No!"

It is used, secondly, in the writings of Aldous Huxley, Max Plowman and Middleton Murry, in a much wider significance: to describe a particular philosophy of life.

Confusion between these two meanings must result inevitably in barren discussion.

The first of them alone essentially enters into a consideration of the Peace Pledge Union, its organization and its policy. For so long as the PPU retains the simple Peace Pledge as its basis it cannot be other than a loose organization of individuals who have, for one reason or another, conscientiously renounced war.

Some have signed the pledge because they are Christians, and regard war as incompatible with the life and teachings of Jesus. Others have joined because their humanity is outraged by the barbarities inseparable from modern war. Others, again, argue rationally from the futility of war. Some there may be who reject war because they desire a quiet life and know that totalitarian war means a scandalous invasion of individual privacy; or some, again, because they hate the sight of blood.

Whatever their motives, all members of the Peace Pledge Union achieve equality in membership simply by taking the pledge. The "pacifism" of individual members ranges from the most militant anti-militarism and war resistance on the one hand, to the gentlest "Gregg-ism" on the other. The implications which one member may deduce from his pledge cannot bind any of his fellows.

Aims of the P.P.U.

Accordingly, any attempt to formulate a policy for the PPU based on, say, Max Plowman's implications, would not necessarily find general acceptance, and would tend to disunity. By its very nature the PPU cannot have a policy in the sense of the Labour Party's Ten-Point Programme.

It must have, however, very definite aims. These, it seems to me, ought to be:

1. The creation of mass opposition to war and preparations for war, by the persuasion of individuals.

2. The persuasion of those who sign the Peace Pledge that mere renunciation of war is not enough, however successful it may be in postponing international catastrophe; that the spread of active, positive pacifism (using the word now in its broadest sense) is the only way toward the transformation of society.

3. The encouragement of those members who, following their own implications from their pledge, desire to do special work, such as aid for the refugees, support for the claims of the unemployed, opposition to National Service, and the like.

THE first of these aims seems to me to be the historic rôle of the PPU.

Dick Sheppard, with that Marxist realism to which Max Plowman acutely refers in his important article in the current issue of *The Adelphi*, perceived that without popular support no Government could wage war under modern conditions: that the ordinary man, for the first time in the world's history, was so indispensable to the prosecution of war that by refusing his support he could nullify the designs of statesmen, who from sheer bankruptcy of policy sought to "settle" international disputes by this outmoded and provedly futile method.

* "Modern Pacifism and the Peace Pledge Union."

He therefore conceived the idea of a great popular movement of men and women who were prepared to announce their refusal to cooperate, a movement which he hoped would become so strong as to render impotent any Government that relied on war to redeem its diplomatic failures. Membership of the movement involved only the signing of the simple pledge: there were no other commitments, not even that of subscribing to the funds. The first Board of Sponsors illustrated ideally the unity and variety of the new movement.

Since the beginning the danger has been ever present that the PPU will forget the circumstances of its formation and the aim of its founder. There are some who have sought to develop it into a new evangelical church, or a new political party, or a collection of small groups, spread throughout the country, in which the higher virtues would be cultivated by the contemplation

ANDREW STEWART, the nineteenth contributor to the series "Speaking Personally," deals in this article with the character and aims of the Peace Pledge Union, and discusses some of the points raised by Max Plowman in an article in the current issue of "The Adelphi" (extracts from which appear on page five.)

Next week Andrew Stewart will write on the organization and future work of the PPU.

"Speaking Personally" is a forum for the expression of individual views, which must not be taken as necessarily representing those of the Peace Pledge Union or of "Peace News."

of the lives of saints and martyrs or by the practice of elementary Yogi. All of these excellent people are equally misguided.

Room for All

There is room in the PPU for the Christian pacifist, the atheist pacifist, the sentimental pacifist, the rational pacifist, the vegetarian pacifist, the bibulous pacifist, using the word pacifist in its simplest sense. Diverse though they may be in other things, they find unity and strength in the PPU by their common renunciation of war.

Here I should like to interpolate that, apart from the immediate urgency of a mass anti-war movement, the PPU serves pacifists in two very important ways. The neuroses from which pacifists—and revolutionary minorities in general—have always suffered have been their feelings of impotence and isolation. The growing strength of the PPU, and the opportunities for fellowship to be found in it, provide a cure for these ills.

The principal task of the Peace Pledge Union today is, as I see it, the continuance of the aim and work of Dick Sheppard, with that redoubling of effort which the urgency of the situation demands.

The second and third aims I have listed above are of more domestic concern, but are still very important.

We who are in the movement must get rid of the notion that once we have persuaded one of our fellows to sign the Peace Pledge our work on behalf of the New Society, in respect of that person, is at an end. Something much more drastic than the ending of war will be necessary before we achieve the Pacifist Commonwealth, or the Socialist State, or the Kingdom of God on Earth. Revolutionary economic changes, political changes, personal changes will require to take place before the things to come can take final shape. Socialism will only exist when we have created enough Socialists: and to be a Socialist, as to be a Christian, involves something very much more than the endorsement of a pledge card or a voting paper.

Herein lies the importance to the modern pacifist movement of men like Aldous Huxley and Max Plowman. Herein, too, lies the importance of group discussion circles, weekend schools, and the like. Propaganda, education, persuasion, within the PPU, is as important as propaganda directed at the man in the street.

ONCE the pacifist has realized the full and tremendous implications of his creed he will in all probability have an irresistible desire to do something about it.

He may conceive himself best suited to doing general propaganda of the type that first converted him, or to being a tutor to fellow members in the economic, or political or ethical implications of pacifism. In this case he will find ample scope within the PPU.

However, he may reasonably feel that work for the refugees, or for the unemployed, or against the Government's war-preparation policy, makes a stronger demand on his energy.

Here he will find it difficult—I should say impossible—to work within or through the PPU. Since he cannot assume that other members also feel that, say, the plight of the refugees, is a responsibility incumbent on them because of the Peace Pledge, he cannot, in his work, commit the PPU as an organization.

I think he must look to already-existing, or newly-formed *ad hoc* organizations, for the expression of his ideas.

Opportunities for Service

I welcomed the formation of the NO-Conscription League because it provided just such a medium for those members of the PPU who believed in the most active resistance to militarism in every form. A national campaign against conscription has now been launched with the support of many members, and some Sponsors, of the PPU who felt that this sort of thing was urgently necessary but who could not commit their fellow members to it.

I believe that one of the most clamant needs of the time is the formation of a similar organization to awaken the public imagination to the plight of the refugees. Not another relief organization: there is a plethora of such already: but a spectacularly propagandist body whose sole task would be the rousing of the public conscience, and through that the provoking of the Government to such actions as the remission of immigration conditions, and the financing of settlement in this country and abroad.

Organizations like the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, or the newly-formed Poplar and Stepney Association Against Unemployment, afford ample scope for the pacifist who feels that work for the unemployed is one of the implications of his pledge.

Let us realize, then, the extent to which the PPU can serve us in our struggle for a finer world. Let us be wary of imposing on the pledge commitments which would jeopardize its principal purpose. And let us open our eyes wide to the fact that all around us are opportunities for service which the PPU by its nature cannot provide, though it certainly numbers in its ranks thousands of men and women who are of the stuff that new worlds are made of.

Read the

**SOCIALIST CASE
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Send postcard for sample copy to
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Get to know
ALLYSOL

JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13:

HOW MUCH DO YOU WANT PEACE?

NOBODY in their senses wants war. The more closely we examine the methods by which our homes are to be defended, or the homes of our unknown enemies are to be blown sky high, the more we are revolted by the senseless cruelty, stupidity and futility involved. The pacifist and non-pacifist unite in condemning war and desiring peace.

The whole difference between us seems to me to be in the amount of sacrifice we are prepared to make to achieve our common end. Individually and collectively, the pacifist has the responsibility of proving to the world that where peace is concerned he is prepared to sacrifice himself without reservation.

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

I was travelling back from a meeting last week in a train that was both cold and dirty. The only other person in the carriage was a jolly-faced man who I put down as a farmer, but who turned out to be an airman in mufti. We were soon in conversation, in the course of which he told me that he was fed up with the life of travelling around with his unit and longed to settle down in a home of his own.

I asked him how he felt about the possibility of being able to defend this country against attack from the air, and he seemed as sure of the folly of it as myself. He pointed out the obvious fact that every increase on our side meant an increase on the other, and that he saw no hope of ending the insane race in armaments. In a few years, he said, we should reach saturation point, and then would come the war. He did not want it and he saw no possible result except misery and suffering beyond imagination. He is typical of millions who want peace but do not want it enough to say "stop" to preparations for war. How can we give them such a lead that they will join in and back us up?

Declare openly that you will refuse all war service; clamour night and day for a Peace Conference; give up buying the papers which support rearmament, and

The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

Meetings

Westminster group.—From March 23 this group will meet on Thursdays at 8 p.m., instead of Wednesday as formerly. The meeting place will be the Baptist Church, Horseferry Road.

Brixham group meets in the Social Service Centre, Cavern Road, on first and third Sundays in the month, at 3 p.m.

Poster Parades

Dorking.—Volunteers urgently wanted for parade tomorrow (Saturday), leaving Cooperative Hall, South Street, at 6 p.m. and 7 p.m.

Richmond.—Saturday, March 25. Write G. D. Piker, 97 Sandycroft Road, Richmond, Surrey.

Volunteers wanted for special parades to awaken public interest in the sufferings of Sudeten refugees. Held every Monday from 6.45 p.m. from Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, W.1. Refreshments before and after the parade obtainable at the club.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Sparkhill and Sparkbrook.—Members here wish to maintain six selling posts every Friday (5.30 to 8 p.m.). Write Ronald A. King, 370 Sarehole Road, Hall Green, Birmingham, 28.

Birmingham.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday (4.30 to 8.30 p.m.) for hour or more. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 22 Hem-yock Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

Kings Heath.—Selling in this district has commenced. More sellers are required between 2.30 and 5 p.m. on Saturdays. Write A. G. Sparkes, 40, Station Road, King's Norton, Birmingham, 30.

Miscellaneous

Midlands.—If you want your meeting reported write to Peace News Reporter Midlands Area—Michael G. Thomason, 160 Reddings Lane, Hall Green, Birmingham 11.

Islington.—Volunteers wanted to cooperate in editing group monthly and assist in clerical work. Write L. Griffiths, 10 Holloway Road, London, N.1.

organize great protest meetings in support of a policy of disarmament; spend your evenings knocking on doors of neighbours, giving them literature which outlines a constructive peace policy; write letters to Bishops asking them to support George Lansbury's appeal to the Pope, which called for a world conference of religious leaders to declare its opposition to all war as being contrary to the mind of Christ; give up going to the cinema and give the money thus saved to the Peace Pledge Union!—but whilst doing all these things know and believe that you are representing the passionate desires of men and women in all countries.

It is difficult to maintain this faith so that every day it bubbles up fresh and strong. I believe that only by close fellowship with others can we achieve this, and I am persuaded that the system of groups into which the Peace Pledge Union is divided is capable of great expansion, and through expansion pressure can be brought to bear on the conduct of foreign affairs.

I appeal, therefore, to those outside groups to write to me asking to be put in touch with the one nearest their home, and to those already inside to give all their spare time to active participation in group work. Time marches on—and with it the opportunity of exercising our influence on the progress of events. We are writing the history of 1939, and the future will depend on how we write. Peace is dependent on how much we want it, and my question to you is therefore—*how much?*

Remember:—

(1) **Saturday, March 18:** mass meeting in the Queen's Hall, to wind up the Petition Campaign. If you have not got a ticket, come early and get a seat, and hear the numbers announced.

(2) **Annual General Meeting:** Delegates' forms should be sent in at once please, and I still need offers of hospitality from London members. Forms can be had on application to me at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

(3) **Ireland:** You will be interested and glad to hear that Canon Stuart Morris is leaving for Ireland on Friday, March 24, for a week-end of meetings in Belfast to inaugurate the formation of the Irish Peace Pledge Union. I shall be following on the Monday, and shall spend three days forming new groups in various parts of North Ireland, at the same time making contact with Dublin pacifists and others from the Irish Free State.

What the Groups are Doing

THE Lower Foresters Hall at Margate was filled on Monday night for a public meeting arranged by the PPU to hear the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, Southern Regional Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, with C. W. Hope Gill, East Kent Organizer of the PPU, in the chair.

Both speakers emphasized the urgent need of the closest cooperation between the two bodies—already in operation in East Kent. Mr. Gliddon also showed that the only practical way to lasting peace was to be willing to suffer and sacrifice oneself alone for it.

New Group in South Wales

AT a meeting held in Ystalyfera recently and addressed by Richard Bishop, it was decided to form a local branch of the PPU.

The proposal to form the group was made by the Rev. Corwen Jones, and supported by Mr. Luther Evans. The Rev. Idwal Jones, of Rhydyfro, presided at the meeting.

Members met again last week to elect officials, &c.

Oldham Annual Meeting

TWO groups of songs by a number of school children were a feature of the annual meeting of the Oldham (Lancs.) group, on Saturday. Mr. W. H. Champkin presided.

A report on the group's activities was given by Mrs. E. Healey, group leader.

The officers were elected as follows:—group leader, Mrs. Healey; chairman, Mr. Champkin; vice-chairman, Mr. L. Hewkin; secretary, Miss Doris Kershaw; treasurer, Miss A. Coles. An executive committee was also elected.

A stimulating address on "Peace and Fellowship" was given by Mr. J. Norbury, of Manchester, and the remainder of the evening was spent in a social manner.

"Open" Group Meeting at Yardley

THE first of a series of open group meetings was held recently in Yardley. The group is but small and still quite young, but sixteen members and nearly twenty non-members were present.

The chair was taken by Doctor Macdonald Ladell, one of the group members; Mr. Herbert Whalley, chairman of the Birmingham PPU Council, explained the general pacifist position under the title of "National Service and International Service."

Hall Green Interest in the Bruderhof

THE Hall Green group welcomed two speakers from the Cotswold Bruderhof at a meeting last week. Stanley Fletcher and Brother

Labour Party or P.P.U.?

THE motion that "this meeting believes that this country is better served by the programme of the Peace Pledge Union than by the present policy of the Labour Party" will be debated by Mr. Lewis Silkin, MP, and Canon Stuart Morris in Camberwell Green on March 30.

The debate has been organized by the Peckham and Herne Hill groups of the PPU and will be held at the Camberwell Baths under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Creech, commencing at 8 p.m.

A New Approach by Youth

THE Leyton and Leytonstone groups held a youth rally at Barclay Hall, Leytonstone, last week. The platform was composed of four young pacifist speakers, the Rev. C. W. Harrington presiding. It was very noticeable that the case for pacifism was presented in an unusual way; the emotional, ethical, and individual methods of approach were discounted; the positive and economic aspects of pacifism were stressed.

Mr. Ronald Smith said there were ideals worth living for, ideals worth dying for, but no ideals worth killing for. The reasons for war were economic, political and psychological. There was an alternative to war—a sharing by the "have" with the "have not" nations.

Mary Campbell dealt with the Continental pacifist point of view and stated that there was a feeling that the English were working for peace at the expense of truth and justice. We should seek reconciliation with the aggressor but at our own sacrifice and not at the sacrifice of others. Pacifists should assist the victims of aggression.

Mr. Stanley Cooper spoke of war resisters in other countries. The one thing which bound war resisters together was service to humanity. Dare we follow them—dare we not follow them?

Mr. John Strange dealt with dictatorships within the British Empire. Throughout the Empire there was incipient revolt as a result of economic pressure. War was a product of the society in which we lived and, speaking for himself, he saw no solution within the capitalist system.

Thornton Heath Peace Week

A PEACE WEEK organized by the Thornton Heath group will commence on Sunday (March 19) and will end with a dance on March 25.

A series of meetings will be held during the week and the speakers will include Harry C. Jones, Rev. Patrick Figgis, Sybil Morrison, Wilfred Buttery and Cyril Adams. In addition there will be a film show on the Friday which will include a showing of *Are We Civilized?* and films of Dick Sheppard and George Lansbury.

In addition to these activities a Peace Shop at 72 Brigstock Road, Thornton Heath will be open all the week. This shop will be officially opened tomorrow (Saturday) at 3.30 p.m. by Alderman Harold Morland.

A Year's Activity in Norwich

A GROUP expenditure during the year of £93 9s. 3d. was reported at the annual meeting of the Norwich group last week. The treasurer also stated that £27 11s. 6d. had been raised in support of a Basque child at Langham.

The literature secretary's reports showed that over £40 had been received from sales of *Peace News*, while the secretary conveyed a very good idea of the number and variety of activities which the group had carried out. Besides group and committee meetings there were five public meetings, a weekend school, sale of *Peace News*, publication of a monthly bulletin, press correspondence, collection of signatures for the National Petition, letters to Germany, &c.

Regret was expressed at the absence of David Spreckley, who was to have addressed the meeting, owing to illness.

Bingley Discussion

A DISCUSSION was arranged by the Bingley Peace Council in the local Geneva Club recently to which they invited speakers from all the progressive bodies in the town. Those who sent speakers were the PPU, League of Nations Union, Youth Group, Labour Party and the Left Book Club.

Each representative spoke on the policy, immediate and eventual, of his group, and a general discussion followed. Seventy or eighty people were present about fifteen of whom were members of the PPU.

University Notes

Now We Know!

From a Correspondent

AT last we have been told. The National Service expected of students has been stated.

Those sufficiently qualified in sciences of value to the war machine are considered to be under the category of Reserved Occupations. This includes partially qualified Medicals.

As for the rest of us—our place is in the Armed Forces of the country. Our present work is not National Service; it cannot be prostituted by the Government to kill and destroy men and works of art. We merely study and disseminate the cultural heritage of humanity. We can only offer the country literature, art, philosophy, the thought of centuries of human genius.

But the great humanitarians, Chamberlain and Anderson, say that this it not National Service. Well, sirs, at least you have made it plain to us what your so-called voluntary scheme of National Service really is.

It is no wonder that at University College, London, the Foundation Debate—the most important of the session—is to be on the motion "that we have been led up the Berchtesgaden path."

Before the next issue of this paper appears all the Universities will have gone down for the Easter Vacation, during which these notes will not appear.

Under the Oak Tree

"BOYS WILL BE BOYS"

By Theo Wills

SPANISH boys furnish evidence that the famous axiom "boys will be boys" is of international application. It is interesting, by the way, to notice which of our English children's classics have reached the Spanish child's heart and which have not. Gulliver and Crusoe, for instance, are household words in Spain, but Alice, of Wonderland and the Looking-Glass, and Robin Hood, appear to be comparatively unknown.

That both of the latter are incapable of evoking a Spanish child's response is disproved, strange as it may at first seem, by the innumerable fashioned sticks and peeled bands which have tended to litter Basque House of late.

They are, according to the values of make-believe, swords and quarterstaves, and a direct result of some of the children having seen the film of Robin Hood. With them Little John and Friar Tuck and the rest of the gang may be seen at it, hammer and tongs, with all the illusion of which even an English boy is capable. Even the girls take a spell.

Let us hope that this play may rid the children's systems of embryonic warlike impulses.

The children of the Concert Troupe are back from Manchester. They were so happy in the North that they were very reluctant to come home. They made many new friends to whom they send their love and whom they hope to meet again.

They are an extraordinarily bright and talented little troupe and promptly won the hearts of even quite fastidious audiences. If you can get them to come to your town you will, in addition to having helped them to live, always be the richer for having seen them.

We must also put on record the conquest of one little heart in particular. Early in the tour, in one of the numerous and less opulent suburbs of Manchester, a small school-boy was captivated by our show, came behind the scenes and made friends with the troupe, and thereafter made long journeys across the city at night to see as many of the succeeding concerts as he could.

When at last the curtain had fallen for the last time in the tour and the properties were packed, he stood in the light of a street-lamp trying to smile and say goodbye cheerfully, but also weeping. I think our children will value this conquest as much as that of a whole audience. They will probably remember him many years after as a symbol of the friendship they have found—and still need—in England.

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

DOVER: 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Queen Street; South-East Kent regional rally; Roy Walker, chairman; W. Newman; FoR and PPU.
LONDON, W.1: 6.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Cecil Wilson on "British Empire—what it is and what it will be"; PPU.
GLASGOW, W.3: 8 p.m. Knightswood School, Rev. John D. Maclean and R. H. Ward; PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Lyn Harris on "Children and Peace"; PPU.
NORBURY: 8 p.m. Library, Beatrice Avenue; Wilfred Wellock on "Justice or War"; PPU.
SHIRLEY: 8 p.m. Benson School, West Way; Rev. Vincent Long on "Denmark"; PPU.
MUSWELL HILL: 8.15 p.m. Alexandra Park Congregational Church; H. Runham Brown on "The work of the WRI"; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

HOLLOWAY: 2.30 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Seven Sisters Road; Allan Skinner, S. Jackson, James H. Hudson and Cnr. Frank Stoneham (chairman); Militant Labour League.
BANGOR: 2.30 and 5.30 p.m. Park Hill Schoolroom; conference and annual general meeting of North Wales groups; John Barclay, Lady Artemus-Jones, Richard Bishop and Rev. J. P. Davies (chairman); PPU.
LONDON, W.1: 7.45 p.m. Queen's Hall; petition rally; speakers to include George Lansbury, H. H. Elvin, Miss Vera Brittain, Miss E. M. Tanner and Dr. Cyril Bailey; selections by Fleet Street Choir; National Peace Council.
CHATHAM: 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, New Road; debate on "That armaments do not cause war"; R. H. Bland and Eric Attwood; Cnr. E. J. Risborough (chairman); PPU.
CLASKEGATE, Lincoln: 8 p.m. Wesley Church; Canon Stuart Morris, Rev. G. A. Parkinson and Rev. F. N. James (chairman); PPU.
WALTHAMSTOW: 8.15 p.m. Friends' Hall, Greenleaf Road; dramatic evening: *Apprehensions*, by Mikhail Oklam, and *Bring Me My Bow*, by Sydney Box; Friends' Hall Peace Group and Walthamstow PPU.

Sun. to Sat., March 19 to 25

THORNTON HEATH: Peace Week; meetings will be addressed by Harry C. Jones, Rev. Patrick Figgis, Sybil Morrison, Wilfrid Buttery, and Cyril Adams; details from Hon. Sec., 29 Carew Road, Thornton Heath.

Monday, March 20

BRENTWOOD: 8 p.m. Committee Room, Town Hall, High Street; John Barclay; PPU.

Tuesday, March 21

TOWER HILL: 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Kay Jones and Ben Greene; City PPU group.
LONDON, N.W.1: 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; S. U. Etuk on "The Education of an African"; Peace Committee of London Friends.
SHEFFIELD: 7.45 p.m. Victoria Hall; George Lansbury, Canon Stuart Morris and Rev. E. Benson Perkins (chairman); PPU.
BANSTEAD: 8 p.m. Clere Cottage (corner of Court Road and Bolter's Lane); E. Phillips; PPU.

Wednesday, March 22

DARTMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Methodist Schoolroom; W. B. Curry; chairman: The Mayor (Alderman G. H. Marshall); PPU.
LUTON: 7.30 p.m. Castle Street Union Church; Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps; Baptist Pacifist Fellowship.
LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m. Hope Street Church Hall, Caledonia Street; G. G. Thomson on "The Making of the Peace Treaties"; Social Problem Circle.
SLOUGH: 8 p.m. Baptist Memorial Hall, Windsor Road; meeting specially for women; Mary Gamble, David Spreckley and P. Pitman (chairman); PPU.
TONBRIDGE: 8 p.m. Masonic Buildings, High Street; Eric G. Attwood on "Pacifism and Spain"; PPU and FoR.

Thursday, March 23

IVYBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m. Methodist Schoolroom; J. N. Wales and Maurice Hunt; PPU.
DORKING: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; John McNair and Dick West on "National Service"; PPU, Society of Friends, Cooperative Women's Guild and ILP.
ROMFORD: 8 p.m. Wykeham Hall, Market Place; Donald Fraser, E. C. Redhead and George Dutch (chairman); PPU.
SWANSCOMBE: 8 p.m. Cooperative Hall, High Street, Galley Hill; Rev. Leslie Artingstall; chairman: Councillor Mrs. Welch; PPU.

Friday, March 24

LONDON, W.1: 6.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Percy Bartlett; PPU.
PARKSTONE: 7.45 p.m. Congregational Church; Dr. A. Herbert Gray on "War and the Christian"; chairman: Rev. L. L. Price; FoR.
LEICESTER: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street; Rev. Frank W. Moyle on "Toward the Understanding of Jesus"; FoR.
LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; J. F. Horabin on "Pacifism and Colonial Policy"; PPU.

Sat. to Mon., March 25 to 27

BELFAST: Friends' Institute, Frederick Street; conference on the theory and practice of pacifism; speakers include Canon Stuart Morris and John Barclay; PPU. Details from A. J. Weir, 8 Kingsway Drive, Belfast.

What
does



stand
for?

3. METHOD

It is sometimes said that pacifism is a mere negation. But though it begins with the refusal to take part in war, it cannot and does not end there. For that reason Aldous Huxley wrote the first official pamphlet of the Peace Pledge Union, What are you going to do about it? explaining its aims and basis. The policy of the Peace Pledge Union arises out of the basis of membership, which is the renunciation of the war method.

It stands instead for the method of non-violent resistance, and it aims at so working out the technique of non-violent resistance that it will set the new spirit free and create the new attitude in the world. The Peace Pledge Union is not a specifically Christian movement. There is no credal or sectarian condition of membership. But it asserts pacifism as a faith, for in denying the power of material force it appeals to spiritual and moral power. It is a fellowship of men and women who are prepared to study constructive peace-making, to become enthusiastic peace-makers, and to accept such self-discipline as will be necessary if we are to repudiate all our relationships with the destructive method of violence, and prove the redeeming power of love.

The Peace Pledge Union is, therefore, anxious to include within its membership everyone who is ready to renounce war and live instead for peace.

The headquarters are at 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:—
 I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.
 Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters

The Cost of War

THE cost of the Great War has been reckoned at about four hundred thousand million dollars, or eighty thousand million pounds. According to figures quoted by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler in his 1934 report to the Carnegie Foundation this sum would have sufficed to provide:

Every family in America, Canada, Australia, Great Britain and Ireland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia with a five-hundred pound house, two hundred pounds' worth of furniture, and a hundred pounds' worth of land.

Every town of twenty thousand inhabitants and over in all the above-mentioned countries could have been presented with a library to the value of a million pounds and a university to the value of two millions.

After which it would have been possible to buy the whole of France and Belgium, that is all the land, houses, factories, railways, churches, roads, harbours, etc., in these countries. In 1914 the total value of France was, according to official statistics, sixty-two thousand million dollars; the total value of Belgium, twelve thousand million dollars. This means that, with the money required to impose the Treaty of Versailles upon Germany, one could have bought, lock, stock and barrel, five countries as large as France and five others as large as Belgium.

To impose this same Treaty of Versailles thirteen millions of human beings were killed outright, while war conditions were responsible for the death of many millions more.

Building Society's Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the St. Pancras Building Society was held in Kingsway Hall, London, last week. The chairman (Mr. W. G. Briggs) said that notwithstanding the difficult year through which they had passed—perhaps the most difficult year for building societies the movement had ever experienced—the Society had continued to expand in all directions, and it would be seen from the accounts that its assets had trebled since their last meeting.

The statement and accounts were unanimously adopted, and the retiring auditor and directors (the latter being the Chairman and the Managing Director, Mr. E. W. Bales) were re-elected. Mr. A. E. H. Benard in an interesting speech quoted the fine phrase used by the Chairman of Barclays Bank—"the priceless habit of thrift"—and pointed to the Society's exceptional facilities for exercising the habit.

Returning thanks on behalf of the re-elected directors, Mr. E. W. Bales referred with satisfaction to the large proportion of St. Pancras investors who belonged to the great modern movement for the promotion of peace.

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LECTURES

FREE PUBLIC LECTURE; Caxton Hall, Victoria Street, S.W.1, Thursday, March 23, 8 p.m., by Dr. H. Poppelbaum (D.Phil.), based on the work of Rudolf Steiner: "Can Re-incarnation be reconciled with Christianity?" Collection for expenses.

MEETINGS, &c.

DR. MAUDE ROYDEN, C.H., Guildhouse Fellowship Service, Victoria Hall (North), Bloomsbury Square, W.C.1. Sunday, March 19, 6.30 p.m. Subject: "Joy." After meeting for questions and discussion.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION. A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, is held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

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The Right Time To Sell

To the Editor, "Peace News."
THERE is a great deal to be said for choosing the psychological moment for selling *Peace News*. Our amateur salesmen should therefore keep their eyes skinned for films and plays which tell the truth about war, and sell to the audience as they come out. We have tried it and it works!

Suitable examples are the film of the war in Spain called *Blockade*, which is now in the Provinces, the plays *The Mother* and *Glorious Morning*, and *Ballet Joos*, which is now on tour.

C. W. R.

Liverpool.

One Risk We Must Take For Peace

(Continued from page 1)

was offered, the dictators would speedily persuade their peoples to get the rest by war. They do not seem to consider that war can only be made after effective propaganda beforehand, and they would do well to ponder the statement of a modern military propagandist, Captain Sidney Rogerson, that "Good institutions defend themselves" against hostile propaganda because they afford no grasp to their opponents.

The best description of the working of pacifism that has come to my notice is Leon Blum's.* It is worth re-quoting because although he has since changed his views the speech stands as the sincere and considered verdict of an eminently practical statesman.

M. BLUM'S BELIEF

"I personally believe," he said, "that the War created such a state of mind in Europe that it actually would have been possible for a great nation to take the initiative to disarm completely. Let there be no mistake; I do not mean a plan for a proposal, I mean the act itself.

"If such a nation had thrown down its weapons without any preliminary understanding with the other nations, and without any reciprocal agreement, it would have run no risks at all, for its moral prestige would have protected it against attack. The moral strength of its example would have obliged all the other States to imitate it. In this, as in other matters, I believe in the strength of good examples.

"That was certainly possible in the years immediately following the War; and despite the more difficult international situation of today, it might still not be impossible. Think how the world would be stirred if, instead of little Denmark, France were suddenly to give public opinion the supreme proof of her pacifism!

"I have mentioned France, because France is the strongest military power, the power which marched at the head of the victorious nations; I have mentioned her also out of national vanity, for, being a Frenchman, I should naturally want her to have this claim to glory.

"Would we not, by disarming, break, at one and the same time, the weapons of all the nationalists, militarists, revanchards, and even of the dictatorships? Is there a government which could resist the torrent of popular enthusiasm, the powerful will of the peoples? These have been my thoughts for a long time; so why should I not express them!"

"Is there a government which could resist the torrent of popular enthusiasm, the powerful will of the peoples?" I believe there is not. I believe, not that pacifism can restrain the totalitarian States, but that pacifism can remove at least those aggressive aspects of totalitarianism that militarism has created.

Roy Walker

* Quoted by Lord Ponsonby in *Disarmament* (Day to Day Pamphlets. No. 14). The Hogarth Press, 1932.

Old Men Who Want Conscription

During the last year or so, many reported speeches and leading articles have urged the imposition of compulsory service.

The clamour has a hollow note when it comes from men whose ladder of years stretches far enough to provide their own fire escape.

The old who fill the offices which enable them to speak for the nation are too apt to speak as if they and their generation were "the nation."—Captain Liddell Hart in the *Sunday Pictorial*

A Pacifist Commentary

Aim of British Trade Talks :: No Time Left for Peace? :: Plain Speaking by the Viceroy

WITH the departure of the British Industrial Mission for Germany this week a series of trade talks in various capitals of Europe has begun. For their success in improving relations between the countries concerned there can be nothing but good wishes; and hopes will be raised scarcely less readily if only on the not unsubstantial ground that at least the method of conference makes possible the peace that can no more come from a trade than from any other kind of war.

But consider what *The Times* called the "reasons for optimism" obtaining when the British industrialists left London on Monday for Germany. "British determination in rearmament, Mr. Roosevelt's policy, the sale of American aeroplanes to Great Britain and France, and the recovery in South-Eastern Europe were all counted as contributory reasons," wrote that paper's Diplomatic Correspondent.

Even he did not pretend that those conditions under which the talks are taking place were reasons for German optimism, but only for British optimism. That Germans do not think Mr. Roosevelt's policy is a condition of peace is well known. As for "British determination in rearmament" its value to trade "peace" has been indicated by one of the British Government negotiators who has now joined the industrialists in Berlin, Mr. R. S. Hudson. Moving the second reading in the House of Commons of the Bill to help British industries to compete with German trade, he said:

"In a world of power politics, undoubtedly the trade of this country is to a very large extent dependent on the question of whether or not the world believes that we are in earnest about our schemes of rearmament."

This no doubt strikes Germany as the recent armament loans debate in the House of Commons struck Italy. On the latter the *Giornale d'Italia* commented:

"The peace by negotiation so dear to Mr. Chamberlain—does it not imply negotiation under menace, in view of all this array of cannon spreading itself out along his uncertain path?"

It seems all too plain that the "peace" that is hoped for in official circles in this country as a result of the present talks is only an economic *pax Britannica*. That may be one sort of peace, but the world's experience of imposed peace in the past does not inspire confidence or encourage the hope of a real or lasting peace.

As we go to press we learn that the Ministers' visit to Berlin has been put off. The above considerations, however, are still relevant in view of Mr. Chamberlain's apparent intention to continue his "appeasement" policy.

Service for War

ADVERTISEMENTS asking for volunteers for ARP have become prominent in our newspapers since the Government embarked on its new National Service propaganda drive.

Although speakers on behalf of the press have often denied that advertising is allowed to affect the contents of the news columns, it is a fact that the newspapers have lately been "playing up" National Service news stories. These may take the form of leading articles and lengthy surveys on the progress of National Service, such as have appeared in *The Times*, or of more "human stories" such as find their way into the more popular papers.

One of the latter, published in the *Daily Express* on Monday, told of a family in which every person had undertaken some form of service. "We are all so busy training it's a job to get a game of bridge," commented one of them.

The remark was indicative of the way in which preparation for war—for that is what National Service really amounts to—is encroaching upon the nation's time and energy. While the loss of a game of bridge is a cause for nothing but mild regret on the part of those concerned, the hours devoted to ARP and so on sometimes mean that actual work for peace has to be dropped. Thus a pacifist had to decline an opportunity of assisting *Peace News* in a voluntary capacity because his time was taken up with preparation for the very thing which the pacifist movement is striving to exorcise.

MEANWHILE we have the assurance of Mr. Ernest Brown, Minister of Labour, that enrolment "is a great and resounding success." After that statement we have every right to expect an end of the hints of compulsion, whether of the unemployed or anyone else. If the voluntary system has indeed proved so successful, the need for case for compulsion is disproved.

Whether we shall in fact hear no more of such hints is another matter. Mr. Brown went on to say that 480,000 people had been enrolled up to March 4—not a very large percentage of the 6,000,000 or so who were free to enrol.

An impartial observer might have described a response of ten percent as quite satisfactory. This is approximately the response experienced by workers in the peace movement and others; to secure an attendance of 1,000 for instance, at a public meeting, it is often reckoned that 10,000 people must receive a notice of it. But Mr. Brown still needs another 120,000 recruits to bring the response to National Service appeals up to ten percent. His conception of a "resounding success" seems to be a modest one.

Reactions to a Fast

VIEWS have been sharply divided on the correctness or otherwise of Mr. Gandhi's fast, undertaken to ensure fulfilment of what he held was a promise by the ruler of Rajkot State.

We find *The Observer* describing "argument by fasting" as "not fair play," since "it partakes of the method of holding a pistol to the head, and the fact that the head is your own and not your adversary's does not remove the reproach of blood-guiltiness." Since the idea of holding a pistol to anyone's head has become so abhorrent to this representative of British Conservative opinion, we can now demand that it should act logically and advocate the abandonment of armaments, which are nothing but the "pistol" argument writ large.

On the other hand, the *News Chronicle*, describing the fast as "a remarkable victory for the method of passive resistance," pointed out:

"Unlike violence, personal sacrifice tends to have a disarming effect on those to whom it is directed and breeds conciliation. The Viceroy could never have intervened in so conciliatory a way if Mr. Gandhi had led an armed attack on Rajkot State."

While that paper was quick to add that Mr. Gandhi's method was not one "which can be applied at the moment in Western Europe" it acknowledged that "in the long run it is the human spirit that triumphs, not the sword."

Among pacifists themselves there is some difference of opinion on the method of fasting to secure justice, though it is difficult to draw any distinction between it and the method of mass non-violent non-cooperation which is often advocated by pacifists.

Tactics apart, however, the fact remains that Mr. Gandhi's fast has been followed by a statement by the Viceroy of India to the Chamber of Princes in which he emphasized the need for them to meet the legitimate grievances and aspirations of their subjects. Administrative authorities in the States should, he said, without ex-

ception make it their constant care to watch for and to remedy any grievances which might exist.

Mr. Gandhi himself could have hardly put it better. No crisis would have arisen in Rajkot had legitimate grievances been met before the people felt it necessary to undertake the civil disobedience campaign which preceded the recent fast.

An Echo of Munich

THE latest developments in Czechoslovakia are proof that when the Pact of Munich was made last autumn the basic problems out of which the crisis had grown were left untouched. Until they are tackled Europe cannot reasonably expect to be free from further developments of the same character.

A sign of increasing public awareness of this fact is to be found in the million signatures to the National Petition for a New Peace Conference, to be laid before the Prime Minister on Monday. With the latest news from Central Europe before him Mr. Chamberlain can hardly deny the urgent need for the removal by some means of the occasions for war.

It is worth recalling that a pledge by a spokesman for the British Government on October 4, 1938, that the guarantee of Czechoslovakia's frontiers was by then in force, is now described as "merely 'unfortunate.'" While no-one in his senses would have advocated the dispatch of military force to preserve the integrity of Czechoslovakia, the ease with which such pledges can be made and broken shows the absence of any morality in international politics today. And that, in itself, is preventing the attainment of real peace.

It should be borne in mind that this week's events are further results of the way in which Czechoslovakia was created after the War. Though French diplomacy played a part in the creation of the State, it is to its credit that it apparently now sees the latest moves as a consequence of post-War mistakes.

The Fight We Want

THE report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Anti-Tuberculosis Service in Wales is an eye-opener for those who look upon our health, education, and housing services as luxuries provided by a beneficent State.

While it is made clear that the ravages of tuberculosis in Wales are in part due to administrative inertia, the report shows that there is an urgent need for money to fight the disease; money for new houses, money for new schools, money for better food.

To say that money is not available because the nation is spending fantastic sums on preparations to blow human beings to pieces—and one fears this will be said—is simply to reveal the lunacy of our present national policy.

The fight against disease and foul living conditions is one in which no reasonable person would grudge the wise expenditure of the national wealth. But this battle will not be fought with the attention it deserves while that wealth is being squandered on arms. The people must choose whether they want arms or better social services; they will soon find they cannot have both.

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